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OUTCASTING AMONG OILMEN FOR DRINKING WINE

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THE Oilmen of Puri district in Orissa have their own panchayats. The district itself is divided into several Rājyas—Regions, and each such Region bears a name. One of these is known as the Region of 6080-Houses or Chahajār-asi Ghara Rājya. The present paper deals with a case involving an Oilman named Haribandhu Sahu who was outcasted as his son drank wine. The case was held in the town of Puri on 7 July 1937, and what is interesting is that various other castes also were invited to the meeting and participated in it. The proceedings are presented below. These were obtained from the office of the Region of 6080-Houses.

Letters Sent

On 5 July 1937, a number of letters were addressed to various persons belonging, not to the Oilman, but to other castes.

‘Letter from Shri Gadadhar Sahu, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the 6080-Houses of Kuveras (Merchants, a

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designation which Oilmen assigned to themselves in place of the common term Teli).*

To Dharmu De of Damodarpur, Secretary of the 300-Houses :

Sir,

We of the 6080-Houses have completely outcasted Hari-bandhu Sahu of Damodarpur for (the offence of) committing an act antagonistic to (the custom) of our caste (the term Kula, lineage, is used here). We request your Committee to come to a decision on this matter in accordance with the custom prevalent in our country, and then give effect to it. This is our prayer to you. Dated 1-7-1937.'

Similar letters were sent on the same day to Haren Naik, representative of the 300-Houses of Bhagabanpur ; Chintamani Mishra of Bira Pratappur, Balakrushna Mahanti, Lakshman Patra, Krushna Behera of Uttamapatna, Keshab Mahapatra of Chandanpur, Maga Sahu of Khesapasa, Dharmu Naik of Damodarpur, Bauri Naik of Bhagabanpur, Hari Naik of Kumutisahi, Khali Sahu of Brahmagiri.

The following letter dated 5th July 1937 was sent to Natabar Sahu of Sunanagar by Sama Sahu.

'Sir,

In accordance with the order received from Damodarpur and the Four-Wards of Bhagabanpur, it has been decided to hold a meeting of the thirty-six p ā ṭ a k a s (castes standing in jajamāni relationship with one another). The meeting will be held on Wednesday, the 7th. You are to be present at 9 o'clock at Damodarpur on the 7th. In the name of Jagannāth (the god Viṣṇu), of Lokanāth Mahāprabhu (Śiva) and of Vārāhi (the goddess)†, we order you to bring Damodar Sahu with you.

Sama Sahu'

* Notes by the author are placed within brackets.

† These three deities are worshipped particularly by the Oilmen of Puri.

Seventyfive more invitations were issued to various persons. One such is given below by way of illustration.

‘Invitation to P e n ṭ h a N ā i k (Chief), Dungei Mahapatra and members of 36 p ā ṭ a k a s on behalf of the (Committee of) Four-Wards to be held on Wednesday, 7 July 1937, at 5 o’clock in the evening at the monastery of Sri Radha Kanta Dev in Bhagabanpur. Dated 6-7-1937.’

Eight Letters were also addressed to relatives of Haribandhu Sahu one of which is given below by way of illustration.

‘To

Shri Sadei Sahu, residing at Chandra, Berhampore.

Sir,

As the son of Haribandhu Sahu of Damodarpur drank wine, he has been outcasted from the society of 6080-Houses. As you are his relative, we have to tell you that you should not go to his door (i.e. should not visit him). If he seeks or invites you, you may send him (articles) according to custom. (These are things like cloth, vegetables, etc.) But you will not enter through his door (i.e. go into his house). If you do so, you will be held responsible (for breach of an order) by the (society of) 6080-Houses. The gods Jagannāth and Lokanāth and the goddess Vārāhi remain our witnesses. Dated 11-7-1937’.

One such letter was sent to the Headman of the Ward where Haribandhu Sahu lived. His name was Basu Sahu. Behari Sahu of Balipada was also asked to inform the relatives of Haribandhu Sahu about the order of the panchayat. Another letter was sent by post to the office of the Oriya daily, *Samāja*, so that the public in general might be informed about the decision.

Another letter was addressed to Natabar Sahu of Sujanagar-patna which is given below.

‘Sir,

You could not attend as you were busy. We learnt about this afterwards. We were also told about the case (before the committee of) 15-Wards of Bhingarapur. (The Chief of that Assembly ?) has written to say that he would arrive in Puri

on the 15th of July. He said you would come during the Car Festival. Please let us know when you are bringing your wife and children with you. On your arrival, we shall decide about the date of the meeting. There would be difficulty if no meeting is held.

A meeting of 36-Pāṭakas (jajamāni castes) was held with regard to the case of Haribandhu Sahu. Nearly five hundred people assembled. It was decided to forbid the services of Washermen and Barbers for him, this being the prevalent custom in our country (regarding boycott). We have also requested the Press to give publicity to the decision. Dated 11-7-1937.'

Proceedings of the Meeting

The official record of proceedings of the meeting held on 7 July 1937 is given below.

'We take refuge at the feet of the gods Jagannāth, Lokanāth and the goddess Vārāhi.

Held at Bhagabanpur in the compound of the temple in the monastery of Radha Kanta Dev.

A general meeting of the Committee of 6080-Houses of Merchants (Kuvera) of the district of Puri was held at seven in the evening. The following members as well members of the 36 castes* were present.

Names and addresses of those present: Pandit Harihar Rath (Brahman) of Biranarasimhapur, Gadadhar Mahapatra and Ganeswar Rath (Brahman) of Biranarasimhapur, Dhuli Mishra, Chintamani Mishra, Sapani Mishra (all three Brahmans) of Birapratappur, Visvanath Mahapatra of Chandanpur, Natabar Sabuta of Chandanpur, Somanath Bastia (Sudra) of Chandanpur, Gopinath Das of Birakishorepur, Natha Pati of Dundasahi, Dhuli Jenā (Khandāyat—Soldier, Farmer) of Damodarpur, Dharmu De of Damodarpur, Banambar Mahanti (Karana—Scribe) of Damodarpur, Maga Sahu (Oilman) of Khasapesa, Kulamani Das of Raghurajpur, Raghu Pradhan of Birapratappur, Nath Santara of Birapratap-

* This seems to be a way of designating 'all castes'.

pur, Bharat Naik of Kundeibentasahi, Dharmu Naik of Damodarpur, Bauribandhu Sahu of Bhagabanpur, Bhogi Sahu of Bhagabanpur, Giridhari Sahu of Naikpatna, Apei Naik of Krushnanjanpur-cum-Hārisahi, Puri Das of Bhagabanpur, Chinta Sahu of Bhagabanpur, Isara and Dama Maharana (Carpenters) of Birapratapur and Malatipatpur, Nidhi Panda of Damodarpur, Raghu Mahapatra of Janakadeipur, Banamali Kanla of Damodarpur, Madan Henka of Bhagabanpur, Penṭha Naik or Chief Dungei Mahapatra of Damodarpur, Phakir Muduli (Potter) of Chandanpur, Nila Das (Potter) of Chandanpur, Lakshman Patra (Kumuti—Trader) of Naunapatna, Banamali Prusti of Naikpatna, Gopi Behera (Gauṛa-Milkman) of Bhagabanpur.

The following representatives of the Oilman caste were present :

Penṭha Naik Dungei Mahapatra of Damodarpur, the Behera of Sinhasthan, namely, Arta Sahu of Dolamandapsahi, Puri, Officer Bulei Sahu of Baligoradi, President Niladri Sahu of Markandeyesvarsahi, Puri, Secretary Gadadhar Sahu of Marichkotgali, Puri, Joint Secretary Phakir Sahu of Chandanpur, Pipli, Committee Members : Sadhucharan Mahapatra of Bhagabanpur and Chaitanya Sahu of Khadipada, Mamlatkar—Law Agent Mani Chaudhuri of Satyabadi, Nath Sahu of Kumutipatna and Dama Sahu of Patnasahi.

1. Chandra Sahu, son of Haribandhu Sahu of Birapratapur—Ketakipatna, popularly known as Damodarpur, has been accused of drinking wine. The Mamlatkar—Law Agent of the Barber caste, namely, Mohan Barik and that of the Washerman caste, namely, Bauri Sethi, had been summoned before the meeting of the Assembly (of 6080-Houses), and the order was passed in their presence that Haribandhu Sahu was being outcasted. Both the Law Agents of the Barber and Washerman caste accepted the order by the following declaration : 'Bāsanda rakhiluñ' or 'We shall keep them outcasted (i.e. 'We shall refrain from rendering them services customarily due from our caste').

After the order, Haribandhu Sahu called a meeting of some members of other (jajamāni) castes, purely in a personal

capacity, and raised an objection before that assembly against the order of outcasting passed by Brethren of the 6080-Houses. These people belonging to other castes called the Washerman and Barber and asked them to serve Haribandhu Sahu. Among Barbers, Mohan Barika agreed to shave him. Therefore, we members of the 6080-Houses are placing this question before members of the 36-Castes.

We belong to the 6080-Houses. For the offence of violating our caste rules, we outcasted Haribandhu Sahu on 19.6.1937 at a meeting held in the courtyard of the temple belonging to the goddess Vārāhi. Members of the Washerman and Barber castes were present in the meeting, and they agreed to observe the boycott. In spite of this, (some members of) the 36-castes have ordered them to render service (*sevā*) (to the accused). This is contrary to the rule of our caste. Therefore we have invited you to come together in order and express your judicial opinion.

Reply of the 35-Castes (Oilmen being excluded) :

The reply of the 35-castes present in the meeting was : 'None of us have acted against the boycott (*Vāsandare bādha dei nāhuñ*). We have also not ordered the Washerman or Barber to serve Haribandhu Sahu.'

Then Samanta Bisvanath Mahapatra of Chandanpur asked (the opinion of) Mohan Barika and Haru Barika, Law Agent of the Barber caste. The question was also put to (the following Barbers) Gopi Behera of Biranarasimhapur, Loka Santara of Biranarasimhapur, Madan Barika of Chandanpur, Bhagi Barika of Bhagabanpur, Haru Barika of Birapratappur and other members of the 30-Houses of Barbers. He also asked for the opinion of the following members of the Washerman caste : Bauri Sethi who is the Law Agent of that caste, Natha Sethi of Birakishorepur, Loka Sethi of Chandanpur, Maguni Sethi of Damodarpur, Bauri Sethi of Damodarpur and other representatives (of the caste) who were present (in the assembly).

The question was first addressed to Barber Haru Barika, who replied, 'None of us have unlocked your (act of) outcasting'—*āmhemāne kehi āpanamānanka bāsanda chābi kholi nāhuñ*. Mohan Barika (alone) has unlocked it.'

Then Mohan Barika was questioned. He confessed that he had done so, and promised that, henceforward, he would obey the order of outcasting (given to Barbers by the Assembly of Oilmen).

They (Washerman and Barber) were then told (by the Assembly) that when any one was outcasted (by his castemen), they should refrain from rendering him service. In case of difficulty, an appeal must be made to the 36-Castes. Otherwise, whenever the name of an outcaste is made known they should observe the rule of outcasting him also (by ceasing to render him the usual services). The Barber caste agreed to obey.

When the order was communicated (formally by this Assembly of 36-Castes), the Law Agent of Washermen, Bauri Sethi, said that he had obeyed the decision of outcasting and would continue to do so in future.

The meeting came to an end after thanks were given to the President. Dated 7-7-1937.

Niladri Sahu, President.'

Observations

Several interesting points emerge from the proceedings presented above. An order of one of the territorial organizations of Oilmen was flouted by a person who had been boycotted for an offence committed by his son. He had called a meeting of various castes who ordered the Barber and Washerman to lift the boycott. The Barber did so.

Then the regional organization of Oilmen called a meeting of various jajamāni castes who attended the meeting at their call. These included men ranging from the Brahman to the Washerman. This is how respect was shown by all to a decision of one of the castes residing within the same territory ; although, in this particular instance, the caste which was originally involved, namely the Oilmen, belong to a group suffering from a limited form of untouchability. The water offered by Oilmen is not acceptable to Brahmans ; yet, when a social question or an infringement of a caste rule is involved, everybody attended a meeting of the assembly of Oilmen and agreed to enforce the decision of one caste among them.

REGULATIONS FOR KSHATRIYAS FROM HINDUSTAN RESIDING IN BENGAL

SAJANI KANTA DAS*

Introduction

FROM time to time small groups of people have come from northern India, referred to in the present context as Hindustan, and settled in various parts of Bengal. The ruling family of B. in Bengal formed one such community. We learn from history that they came to Bengal round 1657 A. D. during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan. In course of time they seem to have lost or given up some of their customs and adopted the customs or practices of Bengal. In 1871-72 the ruling prince of the family named Maharaj Adhirāj Bahādur M. tried to bring about reforms in the practices of his own and of similar communities settled in Bengal. A small booklet entitled *Mahajjarnāmā* was printed and issued that year for the guidance of his 'fellow countrymen.' A translation of text is being given below :

The Text

The following Rules regarding ritual practices have been formulated with our consent in accordance with the order of the Maharaja for the guidance of our castemen. Therefore, these Rules must be observed by all Kshatriyas.

Sri B. Kapuria
Sri B. Jhingharan
Sri B. Kalia
Sri A. C. Jhingaran
Sri C. Kumria
Sri D. Jetli
Sm. S. Devi Kapuriani

*Mr. Sajani Kanta Das is Editor of the *Sanibarer Chithi* and a distinguished historian of Bengali literature. In course of his researches on various forms of Bengali dialect, he came across the above interesting pamphlet, which is of great interest to anthropologists. Hindustan in the title refers to the Punjab and U. P. It should be noted here that we have not been able to recover the meaning of many archaic terms. Names are withheld for obvious reasons.

It is customary for Kshatriya men and women in all parts of Bengal to follow the Yajur Veda and the Laws (Śāstra) prevailing in Hindustan in the performance of their religious vows (Vrata), in the consecration of a temple or monument (Pratiṣṭhā) or in the offering of an oblation (Utsarga). Customs or usages observed by such families are also prevalent in connection with marriage (Śādi) or mourning (Gami); in the matter of acceptance of rice, pulses (dāl), bread and inferior (kacci) food of various kinds. These rules are, however, not observed by 'blemishless' (bekhoṇṭā) Kshatriya men and women living in Burdwan, Ambikā, Sher Garh, Soāin and Singur. Therefore, they have to follow the Yajur Veda and also the Laws (Śāstra) prevalent in Hindustan in regard to ritual ceremonies and obey their family customs in regard to the acceptance of rice, pulses, bread and inferior cooked food of various kinds. The rules which should be followed (in this connection) are being codified in this book. Those Kshatriya men and women who disregard these rules will be debarred from ceremonial social invitations and also from the performance of marriages or mourning ceremonies. (Sambat 1927, Tuesday, the 10th of the bright half of the moon).

['Inferior' cooked food means food like rice, cooked in water, not in ghī or molten butter, which is pakki or 'superior' cooked food.]

Rules for Kshatriya Men

Pulses, bread and milk porridge made with rice, vegetable curries or peas and beans cooked in oil (are subject to the following rule). When these foods are cooked by the following persons, namely, men or women who are in close or distant relationship, or by 'blemishless' Kshatriya men and women who follow the above rules or who belong to the Sārasvata Section or the Eight-Family Section or Dogrā Sārasvata Brahman men or women, they may be eaten only in the kitchen where it is cooked or in the adjoining caukā (or square piece of ground ceremonially marked off for eating).

It is forbidden to remove these foods to any other place for eating.

Those who maintain long hair on the head are all right ; but those who have cropped their hair close must maintain the long ś i k h ā (bunch of hair on the head). Those who perform the usual Twilight Devotions, i. e. Morning or Evening Devotions (S a n d h y ā) are all right. But those who do not, must perform them or repeat the G ā y a t r ī (Vedic) formula before they may take even water.

It is the rule during performance of the Twilight Devotions to mark the forehead with the sacred T r i p u n d r a k a sign by means of sandal paste. Those who perform the Annual Ś r ā d d h a ceremonies or obsequies in honour of deceased ancestors or perform the same or offer oblations of water to them on certain sacred days (P ā r v a ṇ a) are all right. But those who do not, must at least perform the annual obsequies (E k o d d i ś t a Ś r ā d d h a) and also offer oblations on specific occasions according to the custom prevalent in Hindustan.

The sacred thread must be worn or changed in accordance with the rules recorded in the Yajur Veda. It cannot be removed from one's body while anointing the body with oil for bath. It cannot be changed like a cloth which one wears.

One must wear a cap on the head at all times, except while taking a bath or performing daily prayers (Ā n h i k a) or while eating inferior cooked food, i.e. food which has been cooked in water, and during sleep. (It is customary not to wear a headdress in Bengal.) The ritual of G h a ṭ o t s a r g a or offering water to deceased ancestors should be performed in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan on the day of A k ṣ a y a T r i t i y ā in the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha. On the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa the Original Mother (M ā l M ā t ā) should be worshipped by Kshatriyas belonging to the Kāpur Section through Sārasvata priests. On the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa, Kshatriyas belonging to the Khānnā Section will have to

perform a ceremony in honour of Bābā Jasa Rāi. On the fourteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa the Kāpur Kshatriyas must celebrate the worship of Candikā Devī, who is the presiding deity of their clan. On the full moon of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa the R ā k h i or the Sacred Tie must be tied on the wrist as is the custom in Hindustan. Unless one finds oneself unable to do so he should perform on the same day the ceremony of worshipping the R i ṣ i s and offer oblations of water to them in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan.

On the third day of the bright half of the month of Bhādra, Kshatriyas belonging to the Mehrā Section should celebrate the worship of Śivā Devī. Those who perform the worship (of Durga) either symbolically in the shape of a Water Pot or by means of an Idol, during the nine days of the bright half of the month of Āsvina are all right. But either on the eighth or ninth day in this period the worship of Jot Baniā must be performed in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan. Those who perform the S a f a r i or P a y a t ā r ā (ceremonial flourishing of weapons) on the tenth day of the bright half of Āsvina (i.e. Dusserah) must perform this ceremony in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan. On the last day of the month of Māgha, k h i c r i (rice and pulses boiled together) must be offered according to the practice of Hindustan.

In accordance with the custom of Hindustan the family deities should be worshipped and offerings made to them on the birthday of a person (counted according to the lunar year). The descendants of the Khānnā Kshatriyas must perform pilgrimage in Chotī Depālpur. Failing that, they must at least do the same at the shrine of Manikarnikesvara Śiva in Kāśī or Banaras or at the shrine of Bābā Jasa Rāi.

It was customary on the occasion of the Rākhi Pūrṇimā (full moon of the month of Śrāvaṇa) to worship birds and to feed birds with s e m ā i (macaroni made of wheat flour). This was, however, not the custom among our caste. Therefore this is forbidden.

Rules for Kshatriya Women

She may take food cooked by herself, by pure-bred women who are related, from other Kshatriya women from whom it is proper to accept inferior cooked food or persons belonging to the Sārasvata, Eight-Family, Bāhārwalē or Dogrā Sārasvata women. The food must be eaten in the room where it is cooked or in the c a u k ā or place ceremonially marked off for eating in the adjoining room. This food can be taken in accordance with established rules after the men of the household have taken their meals and left the room. No food shall be removed to a different place and eaten.

There are certain families among whom the ceremony of worshipping the Nāga or Serpent or the B h ā i B h i n y ā Ceremony is performed on the fifth of the dark half of the month of Bhādra in accordance with the custom prevailing in Hindustan. On this occasion it is customary to mark the forehead of one's brother with a sacred dot. Women can only treat their brothers and step-brothers in this way.

Worship of Calf, or the worship of Vāsudeyā should be performed on the twelfth of the dark half of the month of Bhādra in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan.

In those families where it is customary to perform the H a r i t ā l i k ā Vow or B e ṛ ā t i j, (members) will perform this ceremony on the third day of the bright half of the month of Bhādra. If there is a newly married bride in such houses then the B e ṛ ā t i j Ceremony should be performed within one year of the marriage.

Women who have been shaved within the five days of the fourteenth of the bright half of Bhādra will have to go through the K a n ā g a t i Ceremony in accordance with the custom of Hindustan. K a r y ā C o t will have to be performed on the fourteenth of the dark half of the month of Kārttika in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan. On the day of new moon in the dark half of Kārttika the Festival of Lamps or D i ā d h a r ā i should be performed in accordance with the custom of Hindustan. It is not customary among our

caste in Hindustan to apply oil and vermilion consecrated to Balarāj on the first day of the bright half of Kārttika. But this custom relating to oil and vermilion dedicated to Balarāj has been prevalent from the past in Bengal. This is permitted. In the case of a new bride it is forbidden to accept oil and vermilion in the above manner.

On the occasion of the *Bhrātridvitiyā*, i.e. the second day of the bright half of Kārttika, when the auspicious dot is applied to the forehead of one's brother, (women can apply) the dot to all who stand in the relationship of a brother (or cousin) in accordance with the custom of Hindustan.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in the caste, cloth should be worn with pleats in front (*kōñcā*) and if one leaves the house to go outside, then a *cādar* or loose cover should be worn in the customary manner.

On the death of one's father-in-law or mother-in-law or husband, mourning should be observed for one year (and the rules of abstinence observed). One should also sit upon a mat (whenever one has to sit upon the ground, i.e. not on a soft seat).

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan mourning should be observed for very near relatives for a period of six months, for near relatives three months and for other relatives for a period of thirteen days.

Prohibitions

It is forbidden to keep the *julphi*, (i.e. a curling lock of hair descending in front of the ear), or to wear a thin cloth or to smoke the hookah.

Fish and meat etc. may not be eaten. No food should be cooked in enamelled vessels. On the eighth day of the dark half of Āsvina some low castes in Hindustan perform the worship of Jitbāhana. Our caste-men do not even know the name of such a ceremony. Therefore, no one should perform such a worship prevalent among low castes. But if this ceremony is performed in the home of men belonging to other castes then offerings may be sent there.

Rules for Kshatriya Men and Women

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan offerings in a water vessel should be made to one's ancestors on Akṣaya Tritiyā, i.e. the third day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha.

If one is physically not unable to do so, then the eleventh day of the bright half of Jaiṣṭha should be observed as a fast in which not even a drop of water should be taken. The worship of Vyāsa, i.e. the worship of the Gooroo or Preceptor, should be performed on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha.

Those who have a shrine in their own home must make an offering known as Pavitra on the twelfth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa.

During the T h a n ḍ a r i Ceremony on the seventh day of the dark half of Bhādra stale food has to be eaten. In accordance with the custom of Hindustan, J a n m ā s ṭ a m ī V r a t a (i.e. observance of the birthday of Krishna) must be observed on the eighth day of the dark half of Bhādra.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan the V r a t a of R ā d h ā s ṭ a m ī has to be celebrated, i.e. the worship in honour of Radha, the consort of Krishna, has to be celebrated on the eighth of the bright half of Bhādra. The Protective T ā g ā, i.e. an amulet of thread in the name of goddess Mahālakṣmī should be tied on the same day. And the amulet should be removed on the eighth day of the dark half of Āsvina.*

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan gifts should be offered in memory of the Dwarf Incarnation of Viṣṇu on the twelfth day of the bright half of Bhādra; this day being known as V ā m a n a D v ā d a ś ī.

In accordance with the custom of Hindustan the A n a n t a V r a t a should be held on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Bhādra.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan the K o j ā g a r P ū r ṇ i m ā V r a t a should be performed on the full moon of autumn, i.e. bright half of Āsvina.

* The amulet should, therefore, be on one's person for one whole lunar month.

It is customary in Hindustan to light a lamp tied to the top of a pole (Ākāśa Pradīp) or Sky-lamp. This observance can be continued.

In accordance with the custom of Hindustan, Huli should be performed on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Kārttika. It is not customary in Hindustan to perform the worship of Hoṭari; so this cannot be performed.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan, Dewāli will be observed during the full moon of the dark half of Kārttika by setting up the Deuli. On the eleventh day of the bright half of Kārttika it is customary in Hindustan to observe the Vow of Panjatikhama. Unless one is absolutely unable, this vow should be observed. It is not customary in Hindustan to observe the Deboṭthāpana Ceremony by means of the Cak. This is, therefore, not to be observed.

It is not customary in Hindustan to perform the New Rice Ceremony in the month of Agrahāyana. But food offerings can be made (on the occasion) for the satisfaction of Viṣṇu and of one's deceased father and grandfathers on the patrilineal and matrilineal sides. This can be observed. (On that occasion) new rice can be mixed with unboiled milk, sugar and fruits as is customary in Bengal and this can be eaten.

On the day before the last day of the month of Capricornus or Māgha the worship of Noṛi has to be performed in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan the worship of Bābā Mukunda shall be performed on the first Monday of the bright half of the month of Pouṣa.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan Gaṇeśa Caturthī or Śankār Cout should be observed in the dark half of the month of Māgha.

In the bright half of Phālguna the Holi festival has to be observed from the tenth to the full moon. (Sarddhā?). During this Holi one's daughter and son-in-law, sister and sister-in-law, etc. have to be invited to one's home and the festival of Holi played with them after which Puch must be given in accordance with prevalent custom.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan the goddess Śītalā must be worshipped on the eighth of the dark half of the month of Caitra.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan the New Rice Ceremony shall be performed on an auspicious day in the month of Caitra.

In accordance with the custom prevalent among their own castemen in Hindustan, the Seth Kshatriyas shall observe V ā r a ṇ a in the month of Phālguna.

Observances of marriage or mourning should be performed in accordance with the custom prevalent in one's own lineage and caste. It is good to give one's daughter in marriage (to bridegrooms) in Hindustan. Otherwise the daughter should be given in marriage in the country of one's domicile or in some neighbouring place to a Kshatriya from a properly selected group. The daughter should be sent to her father-in-law's house. But the daughter cannot be given in marriage into a 'house' (g h a r) lower than one's own.

The son should preferably be married in Hindustan, otherwise he can be married in the country of one's domicile in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan.

In accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan, unless one is physically unable, those rules must be observed which are prevalent among one's own caste and also among the Sārasvatas in relation to ceremonies connected with marriage and mourning. (During these ceremonies) one must pay (ceremonial) visits and also exchange presents according to custom.

If a man who is closely related or is of one's own caste marries in a lineage which is of a comparatively low status—in a K h o ṇ ṭ ā lineage or in a D h a r e n lineage—or if a relative gives his daughter in marriage in such a house, then pure Kshatriya men and women who belong to the 'blemishless' (b e k h o ṇ ṭ ā) lineages will deal with such a person in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan ; and also follow customs observed there in relation to exchange of presents etc., when a marriage or mourning ceremony is performed. 'Blemishless' Kshatriyas should observe the usual

custom of exchange of presents etc. prevalent in Hindustan in marriage and in mourning with families who belong to D h a r e n lineages.

Those Kshatriya men and women who speak the Hindi language are all right. But those who do not do so should also use that language. If they do not know the language then they must teach the language to members of the family and use Hindi language in conversation with one's caste-men. (Evidently many had forgotten Hindi and used only the Bengali language.) The observance of vows, V r a t a s, the establishment or the foundation of wells, tanks, monasteries and temples of Śiva etc., as well as the Ten Observances including G a r b h ā d h ā n a should be observed in accordance with the M ā d h y a n d i n a branch of the Yajur Veda and all ceremonies performed in accordance with the Law (Ś ā s t r a) prevalent in Hindustan. It is forbidden to observe any ceremony in accordance with the customs prevalent in Bengal.

All ceremonies should be performed in accordance with the scriptures prevalent in our caste.

The custom of J ā m ā i B h ā t or offering of rice to the son-in-law is not prevalent in Hindustan; but there is no harm in inviting one's daughter and son-in-law to partake of food on due occasion. When a son is born then T h a n a l - g a ṇ i must be performed by the father in accordance with the custom prevalent in Hindustan. Among the Mehrā Kshatriyas, when a son is born the worship of C a u ś ī should be performed at the end of four years; in the sixth year the worship of Choṭi and Caṇḍī must be performed.

C h a y m ā h ī and P u i ā p a k ā shall be performed by Kshatriyas belonging to the Two-and-a-half Houses. In the case of others, performance of D h a r m a ś ā n t i is prescribed.

Prohibitions

One can chew betel leaves only while wearing leather shoes, but not eat anything else (while wearing those shoes).

Porcelain is impure, dry things like betel, spices etc., may alone be kept in it. If glassware is not old and is not known to have become ritually impure (j h u ṭ ā) then fruit-preserves (ā c ā r) and jam (m o r a b b ā) etc., might be kept in it, but not eaten from such plates.

Bengali Brahmans cannot be accepted as one's Preceptor (Gooroo) for initiation in the sacred m a n t r a, they can also not be accepted as priests. But those who have already been initiated in the sacred m a n t r a by such Brahmans will not abandon their Gooroo because that would not be right and proper. In future no one should be initiated into the sacred m a n t r a by Bengali Brahmans.

Parboiled rice, puffed rice or chapped rice made from the parboiled variety cannot be eaten. It is not customary to offer water oblations in a pot (G h a ṭ o t s a r g a) on the last day of the month of Caitra ; so this is also forbidden.

CASTE DYNAMICS : A CASE FROM UTTAR PRADESH §

D. P. SINHA†

A decade ago there was a great upheaval among the Pasis, a lower caste of Uttar Pradesh whose professional occupation is tapping of toddy ; but many of whom have now become agricultural labourers. They attempted to raise their social position by forming caste associations which provided them ways and means for their social uplift. The case which is being reported in the following pages, as one of the examples of caste dynamics, emerged as a result of a caste movement in a multi-caste village, Gohanakalan, 8 miles from Lucknow.

The Case

I

The case is said to have originated on March 20, 1939, when one Pasi published a collection of poems. The poems contained various facts about and teachings for his caste. They pointed to the weaknesses of the caste and provided a plan for the progress of the caste. In its preface* the author addressed his castemen thus :

Dear Brothers,

This booklet deals with the undermentioned things which are very essential for the progress of our caste : to live cleanly, to give up and prohibit drinking of liquor and meat eating, not to indulge in bad habits, ignoble and criminal activities. Our caste can progress through united effort, with proper attention towards studies and by educating our children.

Sincerely,

A servant of the caste^a.

§ The present account is based on the author's field work in a multi-caste village of Uttar Pradesh in 1954-55 under the guidance of Dr. D. N. Majumdar, to whom the author is richly indebted.

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* (Reference : Sudhar Siksha, Published by Babulal, Girdharipur, Barabanki, 1939)

This collection of poems soon got popularity and wide circulation. Caste organizations of Pasis were formed at different places and the tenets contained in the poems were preached widely among members of the caste. But it could not continue long.

In 1949, after the independence of the country, the caste movement again came to the foreground. On October 2, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, the movement crystallized in the form of a big meeting of the Pasis. The meeting was held at Itaunja, a small suburb, 14 miles from Lucknow, and was largely attended by Pasis from different parts of the State. A few delegates from outside the State also attended the meeting. The meeting discussed ways and means for the uplift of the caste and decided, among other things, to instruct the caste people to put on the sacred thread in order to raise their social status. The most significant feature of this meeting was the use of slogans. The main slogans were : 'All Pasis unite', 'The caste's progress is your progress', 'Caste for caste's sake', 'Help your caste-men', 'We are Rajpasis', 'All castes are equal', et cetera.

On October 5, 1949, there was held again a meeting of the Pasis at another place called Nawabganj six miles from Lucknow. It was a regional meeting on a smaller scale, which was attended by the Pasis of the locality. The meeting decided to put into effect the decisions taken by the general meeting at Itaunja.

The programmes and plans for implementing the decisions were chalked out. Several batches of volunteers were formed. Each batch consisted of Pasis from a number of villages and was accompanied by a few Brahmans. The Brahmans were required to perform the sacred thread ceremony in their villages. Each batch was asked to make a round of all the villages of that area on appointed dates.

The date for initiation of the Pasis of Gohanakalan was fixed at October 18, 1949. The initiation ceremony began in the afternoon at the house of Cheda Pasi. All Pasis of the village attended the ceremony and went through the initiation rites. The Brahman volunteers who accompanied the batch,

recited hymns and put the sacred thread round the neck of the Pasis. The ceremony was a formal one and was over very soon by sunset. It was attended by nearly one hundred Pasis from neighbouring villages besides those from Gohanakalan. One thing that may be mentioned here is that, although this news spread like fire in the village, no other caste people of the village attended the ceremony and it went unnoticed and there was no interruption.

Apropos of this, on October 23, the village panchayat was called. The panchayat was sponsored and convened by four prominent persons of the village: Ajodhya Singh, Ahibaran Singh, Raghubir Singh and Murari Singh. All the four were Thakurs or Kshatriyas. The purpose of the panchayat was to review the incident of October 18 and to take necessary action that might be in the interest of the village. The panchayat met late in the evening at the house of Murari Singh. It was attended by representatives of all castes of the village except the Pasis, who were not asked to join. The assembly first discussed whether it was right and proper for the Pasis to put on the sacred thread. The general opinion was, 'No, it was not justified'. But there was one, Pooran Chamar, the Bhagat of the Chamars of the village, who opposed the decision and said that they were nobody to interfere in the actions of another caste. Pooran, consequently, was rebuked by the Thakurs, and he staged a walk-out from the meeting. Afterwards, the panchayat unanimously decided to boycott the Pasis whose action, it was said, was a threat to social solidarity and an evil omen for the whole village. The panchayat then registered the following decisions:

(i) No caste people of the village would offer any kind of help to the Pasis.

(ii) The Brahmans would no longer give any advice to the Pasis. The Thakurs would take away all their land subletted to the Pasis. The Pasis would be suspended forthwith from village watchmanship. The Blacksmiths and Carpenters would not repair their implements. Barbers would not shave them, neither would they help them in any ritual or social functions. Potters would not supply any pots to them.

Washermen would not wash their clothes. Leather-workers would not work for them and Bhaksore would not attend their maternity cases.

(iii) Private wells in the village would not be allowed to be used by the Pasis.

(iv) Nobody would offer any smoke (*chilam*) to them and everyone would avoid social intercourse (*uthna-baitna*) them.

(v) No Pasis would be allowed to graze their cattle in the village grazing fields (*usar*) and if they were found doing so, the cattle would be chased and beaten and sent to the Kanji house (*dhatta*). And if any Pasi resisted it, he would be beaten and brought to the *gaonsabha* (village assembly) for lawful action.

Lastly, (vi) nobody would speak to them except while chiding or rebuking them.

When the decision had been accepted unanimously, all people present at the panchayat took a solemn vow in the name of the holy *Ganga* that they would abide by the decisions until the Pasis surrendered the sacred thread.

The decision of the village panchayat came into force from the morning of October 24, 1949. There was a complete boycott of the Pasis. Everywhere they were ridiculed and frowned upon and the whole village started speculating as to what they would now do. The Pasis were denied the use of the wells in the village. The services of all other castes of the village were suspended and all social and economic relations with them were cut off. Nobody talked to them and they were completely ostracized. In short, all activities of the Pasis came to a standstill, and it became difficult for them to move even one step in the village. Their very existence in the village became difficult.

The following evening, that is, on October 25, Ahibaran Singh, a Thakur and also influential person of the village, met Cheda Pasi, who was one of the leaders of the caste movement, in the village. He suggested to him to ask his caste brethren of the village to surrender the sacred thread and make a compromise. This, he said, was necessary if they wanted to live

in the village. Cheda Pasi later went to his ward and placed the matter before his caste people. The caste panchayat was called to discuss the question, but it became divided into two groups on the issue of the compromise, one wanted to surrender the sacred thread, while the other resisted the suggestion. The latter thought it proper to place this matter first before the J w a r, larger caste panchayat, formed by Pasis of several villages and then to take any decision. The majority, however, decided to surrender the sacred thread.

On October 26, the village panchayat was recalled. The panchayat was sponsored by the Pasis and convened by the Thakurs of the village. The panchayat was held at the same place and was attended by all caste people of the village. The procedure was as follows :

Ahibaran Singh recalled the decisions of the last panchayat and emphasized how and why it was compelled to take such a decision. He said that the Pasis were now convinced of their mistake and were ready to give up the sacred thread with apologies. He added that since the Pasis had realized their mistake and were now prepared to abide by the decision of the panchayat, the panchayat may kindly withdraw the restrictions imposed on them.

Following this, the Pasis were asked if they were ready to abide by the decision of the panchayat and surrender the sacred thread. The Pasis replied in affirmation. They took off the sacred thread and threw it away in the presence of the panchayat. They also vowed that they would not do any such thing in future. The matter was then hushed up and the panchayat dispersed with the decision to lift the boycott.

In the meantime, between October 20 and November 8, some of the Pasis who had resisted the decision of surrendering the sacred thread reported the matter to the J w a r and B a r u n i (greater caste panchayat) at Itaunja. It was alleged that the Thakurs of the village had forcibly taken away their sacred thread and had forcibly suppressed them. It also added that the Thakurs had molested their women, restricted the use of wells and prohibited their free movement in the village.

In consequence of this report, an emergency meeting of all the J w a r s of the locality was called. The meeting was held at Itaunja on November 13, it was largely attended. The Pasis from Gohanakalan also attended the meeting. They narrated the incident and asked their caste brethren for immediate help. The meeting took the following decision :

(i) To take concerted action, that is, to go to Gohanakalan collectively on a scheduled date and to organize a big protest meeting there.

(ii) To initiate again the formal ceremony of the sacred thread.

(iii) To inform the police for necessary aid.

The meeting finally decided upon November 29 as the day of protest at Gohanakalan.

On November 29, about 400 persons from several villages came to Gohanakalan. They held a meeting there and protested against the action of the villagers. A few Pasis spoke on the occasion. All condemned the action of the Thakurs and challenged them to come and resist them there. The formal ceremony of the sacred thread was also again gone through. The meeting, though tense, terminated peacefully.

The Pasis claimed that they were Rajpasis—descendants from Rajputs and had every right to put on the sacred thread.

On November 20, following the meeting of the Pasis in the village, the village panchayat was called again. It was convened and conducted by the Thakurs. The panchayat discussed the situation of November 19 and again decided to reimpose complete social boycott on the Pasis. The decisions were similar to those taken on October 23, but this time it was decided to take stricter measures.

The decision of the panchayat was enforced. The boycott continued for a week. The Pasis again became helpless. They invited help from their caste people in other village, but it was too meagre. The economically handicapped Pasis then sought the help of those Pasis of other villages who were comparatively rich. The latter refused to give help and ultimately factions grew among the Pasis of the village and the bond of solidarity began to loosen. Meanwhile, the strict and stern

attitude of the other castes of the village made their life miserable. It became practically impossible for them to live in the village. A group of Pasis wanted to resume their relations with other people of the village and tried to surrender the sacred thread.

On December 7, the Inspector of Police came to the village for inquiry regarding the complaint lodged by the Pasis on November 13 against some of the Thakurs of the village. The Inspector, unlike his previous visits during which he used to stay at a Thakur's place, stayed at the house of one Kalwar. He called for the accused, and also the complainants. Both parties appeared before the Inspector. The Inspector first interrogated the Thakurs and asked why they had beaten the Pasis, obstructed their normal work, prevented them from drawing water from the village wells and molested their women. The Thakurs denied the complaints, and said that they never interfered in their activities, neither had they prevented them from doing any work. What they did was simply to take back their land from them in order to cultivate it themselves. They had no grudge against anybody, neither in the past nor at present. They did not even like to prevent them from putting on the sacred thread. In fact, they could offer their own sacred thread if they so liked. One Thakur actually took off his sacred thread and offered it to one of the Pasis.

After a long interrogation and face-to-face examination of the Pasis and the Thakurs, who were the main parties concerned in the dispute, the Inspector concluded 'that there was no dispute, no quarrel', and went back asking both parties to compromise and live peacefully.

The Inspector returned. The Pasis called their own caste panchayat. The panchayat started with the difference of opinion among the caste people. They had already developed divisions. And as on previous occasion, this time again one group were in favour of compromise with the other castes. This faction decided to surrender the sacred thread, and this time finally, for they were sure they would not be able to carry on any more in the face of social boycott. Any help from outside the village was of no avail and could not be relied upon.

Next morning, that is, on December 8, 1949, the village panchayat was called again. The Pasis decided to surrender the sacred thread. This time the panchayat rebuked the Pasis and after much discussion they agreed to resume their relations. The Pasis humbly apologized and surrendered the sacred thread on oath. The panchayat finally suggested to them to give a *K a t h a*, sacred reading of the scriptures, for the restoration of their ritual purity and for warding off of the sins caused by these irreligious activities.

II

Relevant factors and analysis

The case indicated that the general demand of the caste movement was not the abolition of the caste system, neither levelling down of the higher castes. It demanded levelling up of the lower castes. This inner drive of the lower castes gave rise to conflict within the social frame-work, the two opposing forces being :

- (i) the drive of the lower castes to raise themselves, and
- (ii) the equally strong intention of the higher castes to keep them lower down.

This conflict can be easily traced back to 1939 when the above-mentioned booklet, which proposed measures for upgrading the caste, appeared. On that occasion, too, conflict developed between the two opposite forces. But the conservative force was strong enough to crush the movement. However, this suppression did not completely thwart the drive of the lower castes. The movement became dormant and it was not until the autumn of 1949 that it got a fertile ground for its free vent and progress. The regeneration of the caste movement, if we look deep, was due to several factors, both positive and negative. The positive factors were : legal and constitutional equality and the special rights and privileges awarded by the government to the lower (Scheduled) castes, the Harijan welfare movement of Mahatma Gandhi, the spread of literacy, etc. The negative factors were : the

breakdown of the jajmani system, the introduction of the Zemindari Abolition Bill, lowering down of the privileges of higher castes etc. All these factors activized the dormant movement of the Pasis. On the other hand, the Thakurs and the other higher castes of the village who were hostile towards the uplift of the lower castes lent their weight to suppress the caste movement and described it as a 'social disaster'. The complete social boycott of the Pasis on this issue emphasizes the nature of the conflict. When the Pasis first surrendered the sacred thread, it was not that they did not like to wear it, but they could not withstand the hostility of the higher castes which deprived them of many privileges and condemned them to social disabilities. The Pasis' decision to wear the sacred thread again and reporting against the Thakurs to the police further emphasize the nature of the existing conflict.

The main castes involved in this case are the Thakurs and the Pasis, although we find that the other castes of the village also co-operated with the Thakurs. In any case, the Thakurs were the most active. Firstly, because the Thakurs were numerically strongest and the richest people in the village and were more influential than other castes. However, the co-operation lent by the other castes, namely, the Brahmans, the Ahirs (Cowherds), the Lohars (Blacksmiths), the Kumhars (Potters), the Nais (Barbers), the Chamars (Leather-workers) and others of the village cannot be overlooked in this context. They too actively helped in crushing the Pasi movement and tried to stick and made others stick to their respective positions in the social framework. One thing that will not be out of place to mention here is the solitary case of the dissenting voice of a Chamar (Leather-worker) in the matter of the decisions taken by the village panchayat. Further study of the case showed that he happened to be the spiritual head of the Chamars and was economically well off. He had limited contact with other castes and was always bold enough to stand for what he thought was right and proper. He, in a sense, represented the real views of the Chamars on this issue. The data gathered through the interview schedule, later on, also confirmed the hypothesis. In reply to the question, 'Which

caste you will object to wearing the jenu?', none of the Chamars had any objection against the Pasis. But they too had objections against the wearing of sacred thread by the Bhangis (sweepers) and the Bhaksore who are lower than the Chamars in the social scale. All these lead us to the following propositions :

(i) There is conflict between the higher castes and the lower castes.

(ii) In a situation of conflict though all castes make a front against one, the real situation appears to be different. The lower castes, those who are lower than the castes involved, have latent sympathy with the unprivileged caste, while those castes who are higher than the castes involved, remain against that caste.

One very interesting thing that emerges out of this case study is the tendency of a caste to strengthen its horizontal ties. Slogans of caste unity, 'Caste for caste's sake', 'Vote for your caste-man', 'Help your caste-man', all these emphasize the fact that caste solidarity is increasing. We have noticed earlier how the Pasi caste organization functioned. They have a State Caste organization, then the Baruni, the Jwar and finally the village caste organization. These organizations, which are territorial and which have been formed with the basic motto of uplifting the caste, suggest development of horizontal unity between the caste people cutting across several villages. A thing that comes out of it, as a corollary, is the gradual shift of allegiance from the village to the caste.

Finally, this case points out to the gradually weakening of the unity among the castes of the village. At the first meeting when the village panchayat was called to decide and take necessary action against the Pasis '*in the interest of the village*', we find that a Chamar directly went against the decision of the panchayat. Findings show that no Chamar has any grievance against the Pasis. The Ahirs, though quite a few, too had no objection. But theoretically, in the village panchayat, everyone, as we have seen, decided against the Pasis and lent help in the social boycott of the Pasis.

On the basis of this case a few propositions emerge.

(i) There is conflict between the higher and the lower castes.

(ii) In general, in religious or social prerogatives every caste tends to have objection against those castes which are lower than it and not against those which are higher to it in the social frame.

(iii) In a dispute between two lower castes, the higher castes of the village take the side of the caste higher among the disputants.

(iv) Conflicts arise when a lower caste demands equality with the higher caste.

(v) There is growing caste solidarity and horizontal unity which cuts across several villages, and this is valued more than the vertical unity within the village.

(vi) The unity within the castes of the village is decaying.

FEMALE INFANTICIDE AMONG THE KHONDS OF ORISSA

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AS early as 1835-36 British authorities came to know that the custom of female infanticide prevailed among the Khonds of Orissa. In a report dated 12th August, 1836, G. E. Russell wrote from Berhampur to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort Saint George, 'Among the tribes to the westward of Sooradah (Surada), the destruction of female children is common. I believe I may say general. The expense attending the marriage rites is said to be the motive of this cruel custom. They purchase their women from other parts of the country, without reference to their parentage. The same practice does not exist in the *Malias* subject to Goomsoor, but the barbarous ceremony of human sacrifices exists there, and among many of the neighbouring tribes, and is of annual occurrence'.¹ Russell had gone to Goomsur and Surada in connection with the rebellion of local chieftains of Goomsur, and during this campaign, came to learn about the Khond population and their peculiar ceremonies and customs.

The Governor of Madras in Council considered it highly desirable that measures should be taken for procuring the abolition of infanticide and human sacrifice and declared, 'Wherever British influence already prevails, or can be newly introduced, it should be vigorously exercised for the suppression of these barbarous rites'.² Since the Government paid greater attention to the suppression of the *meriah* system (human sacrifice), the custom of infanticide continued to exist and the officers concerned did not pay much attention to it.

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About the middle of 1848, Col. Campbell who was in charge of the Meriah Agency, became interested in the matter and appointed two local people, Sebundy Jemadar Moodhoobas Sing and Maliah Goomasta Sunnyassee Chaudry, to gather information on the above custom. In obedience to his instruction, they proceeded to the *m a l i a h s* or districts with hill ranges of Surada to enquire about female infanticide. They understood it for certain that all the Khonds of those *m a l i a h s* with a few exceptions destroyed their female infants.³

Upon enquiry many things were learnt about Khond infanticide. The Khonds of Jaudingibady, Greenobady and Sodrabandy narrated their traditional belief about the origin of the practice. In ancient times there was a man called Danka Mullicko, who had four sons named Dohala, Dandho, Rebara, and Bunbody. Of these four brothers the first three had eight sons each. The last brother had two daughters who could not get husbands and in consequence they fell into connection with some of their cousins. This circumstance induced the brothers whose sons were not guilty to deprive the brother whose sons had cohabited with the daughters of their uncle, of all his property. Consequently the two guilty females drowned themselves in a tank called Keda Boudho. Afterwards the first three brothers condoled with the disgraced younger brother and concluded that their alienation from and contention with him was occasioned by his female issue. They then determined that henceforward their female issues should be destroyed, and solemnized this with determination by invoking the deities Pebody and Boora punnoo, and since then the practice of female infanticide was being maintained.⁴

In further justification of the practice, the Khonds asserted that the ruling authorities had once asked them to discontinue the custom, and some of the Khonds accordingly gave it up and allowed their female children to live, yet their female progeny did not survive. To give greater emphasis to their statement, they further said that about four years ago when the *C i r c a r* (Government) again visited those *m a l i a h s*, they were desired to give up the practice, and although some

of them again began to rear their female infants, yet they found that they did not live long. This they considered to be in consequence of violation of the solemn oath of their ancestors.

Other reasons were also given for the practice of child murder. The Khonds believed that 'it becomes their manliness to marry the daughter of foreign countries only. But to give daughter in marriage to others they consider degrading'.⁵ The marriage expenses also led to infanticide. They said, 'That if they rear daughters they at the time of giving them in marriage to others shall be obliged to give them many presents, which they cannot afford by reason of their poverty'.⁶ Again, some said that they could not provide food for their children, and therefore they destroyed their female infants who even when allowed to live, would not survive.

The Khonds of Radoopunkea, Jedroobandy, Reroopoobady, Dakorobandy and Bhomarabundy m o o t a h said that their ancestors found it impossible to afford the usual presents at the time of giving their daughters in marriage to others and therefore began throwing them away soon after they were born. They only followed the practice of their ancestors.

The Government proceeded through local officers to induce the Khonds to give up the practice. It was observed that the Khonds in general did not oppose such interference but, on the other hand, agreed to hand over to the Government any one who might thereafter throw away his female infant. The local officers took m o o c h l i k a s or agreements from the Khonds to the effect that in case of their not abiding by the conditions imposed by Government, they would undergo any punishment that might be inflicted upon them.

The reports respecting female infanticide among the Khonds of Surada presented a lamentable account of deep-rooted superstition, pride, prejudice and poverty, which according to Col. Campbell 'will require years of patient and persevering intercourse to subdue'.⁷ In August, 1848, Col. Campbell thought of passing through the m a l i a h s bordering on China Kinedy to gather a more trustworthy account of the feelings of the inhabitants on the subject. He was not very confident that the Khonds would give up infanticide as easily as the

local officers reported. He wrote to the Government, 'I need only advert to the long continued exertions of able officers, civil and military in many civilised parts of India, for the suppression of Infanticide, to enable his Lordship the Governor General in Council to appreciate the difficulties which beset the question in a jungly mountainous, and unhealthy country inhabited by a wild uncivilised race of Khonds divided into tribes, constantly at feud with each other'.⁸ In reply to Campbell, the Government of India wrote on 2 September 1848, 'The Governor General in Council has read with much concern your representation of the unfavourable state of things in that part of the agency and he is well aware that the difficulties of a remedy are very great. His Lordship in Council is fully satisfied however that no persuasion or exertion on your part will be wanting to induce the Khond tribes at Soradah to forego the horrible practice'.⁹

On personal enquiry in the territories of Chinakimedy, Col. Campbell was surprised to see 'too true a picture of the prevalence of this terrible practice.' 'In several villages which I visited or which were visited by my people more than 231 boys under 10 years of age were counted and only 20 females, and even the Meriah girls that had been married to Khonds of the infanticidal tribes were found to have destroyed or to have suffered their female offspring to die under these lamentable circumstances.'¹⁰ He pursued the course which appeared to him to afford a hope of the ultimate suppression of the crime. He seized every opportunity of impressing on the people individually and collectively, the abhorrence in which every one who destroyed human life was held. 'I told them that the Supreme Government had already taken away from the Khonds of Goomsur and of Boad the victims they had purchased for sacrifice and that I had now come to desire them to rear up their female children and not to destroy them for that infanticide was as hateful as the Meriah sacrifice.'¹¹ To strengthen the effect of his exhortations he drew up an agreement which was signed after careful explanation of its contents by the heads of tribes and villages binding themselves henceforward to rear up their female children with

the same care they bestowed on their male offspring. Campbell decided to follow the same course among several infanticidal tribes which he planned to visit.

Halliday, the Secretary to the Government of India, thanked Campbell for the measures which the latter adopted with a view to suppressing female infanticide in Chinakimedy. The President in Council felt that the measures were judicious and gave a good promise of satisfactory results. Campbell was informed, 'His Honour in Council is desirous however that you should lay before the Government whatever information you may possess or may be able to procure in regard to the origin of the practice of female infanticide and the peculiar causes or feelings to which it is supposed to be attributable.'¹²

Campbell devoted himself to patient and personal enquiry on the matter and it took him a few months to ascertain the real nature of the practice. He himself proceeded to the Maliahs of Surada where infanticide largely prevailed. On 17 March 1849, he wrote to Halliday, 'During the past year I have endeavoured to collect authentic accounts of the rise and progress of this cruel practice ; several foolish fables have been narrated to me but on close questioning the people themselves, they one and all pleaded poverty and the influence of long transmitted tradition as their justification, "Our fathers did so, what can we do, we are poor and we do as they did".'

'It is a remarkable fact that it was never alleged by any one of them that they were moved to this odious rite by motives of religion or that their Gods were in any way concerned in the matter.'¹³

In course of time a regular supervision was instituted among the infanticidal tribes of Surada and Chinakimedy. From time to time the affected villages were visited by officers of Government and male and female children were counted. At times strings of beads were presented to female children to encourage their parents to preserve them. Within five years of such endeavour, a marked improvement was noticed in the attitude of the Khonds. Early in November, 1852, Campbell ascended the ghauts and passed through a considerable portion of the infanticidal tracts of Surada and personally

examined into the condition of the people, and ascertained the number of female children in each family of and under the age of five years. He deputed a practical and intelligent man of his establishment to go from village to village, to count the number of houses or families in each, and the number of female children under five years of age in each family, and as an inducement to mothers to produce their offspring, he gave him a supply of coloured glass beads which were greatly prized for distribution among the female children. The result of this minute enquiry showed a registry of 901 females under five years of age in 2149 families, and clearly proved the rapid decrease of the practice of female infanticide.¹⁴ In April 1853 Campbell wrote to J. P. Grant, 'From my own personal observation I can assert that in many villages where there are now several female children, in 1848-49 there was not one to be found.'¹⁵

Once the Khonds came under civilized influence and started abandoning the rite, the age-old custom began to disappear rapidly. Like *meria* h, female infanticide also never again appeared among the Khonds.

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DERMATOGLYPHICS OF THE URALIS OF KERALA

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Introduction

THE Uralis are a Dravidian-speaking people inhabiting mainly the northern ranges, i.e. Thodupuzha range, Kumili range, Game range and Neriamangalam range of Kerala. They are also met with in the Kottayam and Moovathupuzha divisions of northern Kerala. Their population is 916 according to Census of 1931 (males—454, females—462). They depend on wild roots for most of the year, though some amount of hill paddy raised by shifting cultivation and tapioca form part of their subsistence. They have practically very little contact with the people of the plains and also with other neighbouring tribes. The Uralis are a very short statured people with long head, medium long face and medium nose (Cipriani 1935). They live in tree-houses.

The dermatoglyphic data comprise 60 males and 24 females. Both finger and palm prints were collected.

Analysis of the data

The distribution of papillary patterns is given in Table 1a for males and in Table 1b for females.

It will be seen from Tables 1a and 1b that males possess more whorls (53.49%) than females (44.30%). Loops, on the

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other hand, occur in reverse order in the two sexes ; 54.43% in females and 46.51% in males. Radial Loops are present in nearly equal frequency, 1.02% in males and 0.84% in females. Arches have not been found in males ; it occurs in 1.27% in females.

The highest frequency of whorls is seen on the IV digit in the two hands of both the sexes, very closely followed by that on the II digit in both the hands of the two sexes, excepting the male right hand which has a slightly higher frequency on digit I.

Ulnar loops occur in the highest percentage on the III digit in the majority of cases.

Whorls and Ulnar loops occur in all the digits of the two sexes. The sexual variation and the whorl-loop ratio will be apparent from Table 2 in which is given the comparative occurrence of Whorls and Loops ($R + U$) in different digits.

In the ratio of loops and whorls it is seen that $W > L$ occurs in the I, II and IV digits of both the hands of males while in the digits III and V the order is reversed ($L > W$).

Among females, the male order $W > L$ is seen in the digits II and IV while in the left digit II the order is $W = L$. The digits I, III and V of the females on the other hand show $L > W$ order. In females, therefore, the order $L > W$ appears in a higher frequency than in males.

Radial Loops occur on the left II digit and right V digit in the females while in the males these are seen only on the II digit of both hands.

The male whorl-loop ratio for digits I, II and IV varies between 1 : 1.21 and 1 : 2.37 with a mean of 1 : 1.71 while the same ratio for digits III and V varies between 1 : 1.69 and 1 : 2.13 with a mean of 1 : 1.91. The same female ratio for digits II and IV varies between 1 : 1.14 and 1 : 1.67 with a mean of 1 : 1.41 while that for digits I, III and V varies between 1 : 1.61 and 1 : 2.13 with a mean of 1 : 1.78.

Arches have not been met with in males while in females it is only seen on digits II and III of the left hand.

The frequencies of the papillary patterns and the indices derived out of them are given in Table 3.

Besides the sexual difference already mentioned males possess a slightly higher Pattern-Intensity Index (15.35) than females (14.31). The male Arch-Whorl Index is 0.02 in comparison to 2.86 in females. Whorl-Loop Index shows a much higher value (115.07) in males than in females (81.57)

The bimanuars also present the sexual difference very strikingly. Males show the highest peak at 6W4L (14.54%) while females show multiple peaks at 7W3L, 4W6L, 5W5L, and 10L, each with a percentage of 18.19.

Symmetry and Asymmetry

Males possess 16.66% of Monomorphic hands while females show them in 14.59%. This is given in Table 4.

The total symmetry and asymmetry in the finger prints of the Uralis are given in Table 5. Asymmetry appears to be slightly higher in females (32.50%) than in males (30.34%).

The pair group rule is void in males and lacking in females. The results are given below :

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
$\Sigma P = -0.51$	$\Sigma P = 0$
$\Sigma G = 0.51$	$\Sigma G = 0$
$D = -1.02$ or void $\Sigma P < \Sigma G$	$D = \Sigma P = \Sigma G$ or lacking

Palm Prints

The Urali palmar prints show main line formulae in the two sexes as given in Tables 6a and 6b.

The frequencies of the different main line formulae in the two hands of the two sexes are given in Tables 7a and 7b.

Main line formula 7.5.5 - occurs in the highest percentage in both sexes. In males it is found in 40.34% and in females in 47.92%. Formula 11.9.7 - occurs in the next highest frequency (20.17%) in males while in females it occurs in 14.58% as the third highest. Formula 9.7.5 - occurs as the second highest frequency in females (22.92%) while it is fourth in order in males (12.61%). Formula 9.9.5 - occurs as the third highest

frequency in males (13.44%) while in females it is present in 2.08% only.

The frequency of different endings of the four main lines D, C, B and A of 159 Urali palms is given in Table 8.

Line D in males ends in 7 in 40.34% ; in 9 in 34.45% and in 11 in 25.21%.

Line C ends in 5" in 40.34% ; in 7 in 12.61% and in 9 in 33.61%. It is absent (0) in 5.88% and abortive (X) in 7.56%.

Line B ends in 5" in 74.79% and in 7 in 25.21%. Line A ends in 4 in 35.29% and in 5' in 64.71%.

The same is seen in the females in the following manner. Line D ends in 7 in 50.00% ; in 11 in 31.25% and in 9 in 18.75%. Line C ends in 5" in 47.92% ; in 7 in 22.92% and in 9 in 16.67%. Both the absent and the abortive types occur in 6.25. Line B ends in 5" in 79.17% and in 7 in 18.75%. It ends in 9 in a single case. (2.08%).

Line A ends in 4 in 22.92% ; in 5' in 75.00% and in 3 in one left palm (2.08%).

Patterns on Hypothenar area

In the hypothenar area males show more patterns (32.77%) than females (22.91%). These are given in Tables 9a, 9b, 9c.

Frequencies of the patterns Whorl, Loop and Arch extracted from table 9a show that Loops occur in the highest frequency in males (29.41%). There is an instance of Arch in males.

Frequencies of patterns Whorl, Loop and Arch extracted from Table 9c are shown in Table 9d.

The pattern Loop radial exhibits a great sexual variation, it occurs in 21.01% in males and in 12.50% in females.

Patterns on Thenar area

Patterns on Thenar and 1st Interdigital area are given in Table 10a.

The frequencies of the patterns Loop, Arch extracted from the Table 10a are shown in Table 10b.

The pattern Arch is found in 12.50% in females and in 10.92% in males. Pattern Loop is found more in males (10.09%) than in females (4.17%).

BIMANUAR-MALE

The ratio between hypothenar and thenar works out to 1.55 for males and 1.31 for females.

The thenar patterns appear to be lesser in number than the hypothenar patterns. The males show more hypothenar and thenar patterns than females.

The Interdigitals

The patterns on the II, III and IV Interdigital areas of the two sexes are given in Table 11.

The main combination in males is 0-0-0 (41.18%), while in females it is 0-0-L (47.92%). The latter occurs in males in 36.97%, while the former in 31.25% in females. The next highest combination in males is 0-L-L (11.76%), while the same is 0-L-0 (12.50%) in females.

In summary, the patterns on the hypothenar, thenar and Interdigitals occur in the percentages in the two sexes as given in Table 12.

Axial Triradii

The frequency of the Axial Triradii in the two sexes is given in Table 13. *t* occurs in the highest percentage in the two sexes, namely, 77.31% in males and 72.92% in females. *t'* occupies the second highest position in both the sexes, namely, 16.80% in males and 20.83% in females.

SUMMARY

Serial No.	Characters	Male	Female
1	Finger-Prints	Whorl 53.49%	Whorl 44.30%
		Loop Radial 1.02%	Loop Radial 0.84%
		Loop Ulnar 45.49%	Loop Ulnar 53.59%
		Arch Nil	Arch 1.27%
2	Comparative occurrence of Loops and Whorls	W>L on digits I, II and IV of both hands, other digits L>W	W>L on right II digit and both hands of IV digit, W=L on left II digit, L>W on I, III and V digits.
		Prevailing order W>L	Prevailing order L>W

Serial No.	Characters	Male	Female
3	Pattern Intensity Index	15.35	14.31
4	Arch-Whorl Index	0.02	2.86
5	Whorl-Loop Index	115.07	81.57
6	Monomorphic hands	33.32%	29.18%
7	Bimanuar	Highest peak at 6W4L (14.54%)	Multiple peaks at 7W3L, 4W6L, 5W5L and 10L, each with a percentage of 18.19
8	Total Symmetry and Asymmetry	Symmetry - 69.66% Asymmetry - 30.34%	Symmetry - 67.50% Asymmetry - 32.50%
9	Pair group rule	$\Sigma P < \Sigma G$ or void	$\Sigma P = \Sigma G$ or lacking
10	Main line Formulae	7.5.5 - 40.34% 11.9.7 - 20.17% 9.7.5 - 12.61% 9.9.5 - 13.44%	7.5.5 - 47.92% 9.7.5 - 22.92% 11.9.7 - 14.58%
11	Endings of line D, C, B and A	D ends in 7, 9 and 11 C ends in 5", 7, 9, O and X B ends in 5" and 7 A ends in 4 and 5'	D ends in 7, 9, 11 C ends in 5", 7, 9, O and X B ends in 5", 7 and 9 A ends in 4, 5' and 3
12	Absence of Main Line C	O - 5.88% X - 7.56%	O - 6.25% X - 6.25%
13	Hypothenar	32.77%	22.91%
14	Thenar/1st Interdigital	21.01%	16.67%
15	Hypothenar-Thenar Ratio	1.55	1.31
16	II Interdigital	1.68%	...
17	III Interdigital	21.84%	20.83%
18	IV Interdigital	50.42%	56.25%
19	Axial Triradii	t - 77.31% t' - 16.80%	t - 72.92% t' - 20.83%

TABLE 2

COMPARATIVE OCCURRENCE OF WHORLS AND LOOPS (R+U) IN
DIFFERENT DIGITS

Digit	Lt.	Rt.	Lt & Rt comb	W-L Ratio	Lt.	Rt.	Lt & Rt comb	W-L Ratio
I	W L	W L	W L	1 : 1.21	L W	L W	L W	1 : 1.61
II	W L	W L	W L	1 : 1.56	W=L	W L	W L	1 : 1.14
III	L W	L W	L W	1 : 2.13	L W	L W	L W	1 : 2.13
IV	W L	W L	W L	1 : 2.37	W L	W L	W L	1 : 1.67
V	L W	L W	L W	1 : 1.69	L W	L W	L W	1 : 1.61

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF PAPILLARY PATTERNS AND THE INDICES DERIVED
OUT OF THEM

Sex :	N	Whorl	Loop Ulnar	Loop Radial	Loops Total	Arch	Pattern Intensity Index	Arch Whorl- Index	Whorl- Loop Index
Males	60	53.49	45.49	1.02	46.51	...	15.35	0.02	115.07
Females	24	44.30	53.59	0.84	54.43	1.27	14.31	2.86	81.57

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF MONOMORPHIC HANDS

Pattern	Males			Females		
	Lt	Rt	Total	Lt	Rt	Total
Whorl	14	11	25	1	2	3
%	23.33	18.33	20.83	4.17	8.34	6.26
Loop	7	8	15	6	5	11
%	11.66	13.33	12.49	25.00	20.83	22.92

TABLE 5

TOTAL SYMMETRY AND ASYMMETRY

	Males	Females
Symmetry	209	81
%	69.66	67.50
Asymmetry	91	39
%	30.34	32.50

TABLE 6a
MAIN LINE FORMULAE (MALES)

%	Abs. No.	Lt. Hand	Rt. Hand	Abs. No. :	%
8'47	5	7.5'',5'',4		13	21'67
27'13	16	7.5'',5'',5''		14	23'33
11'87	7	9.7.5'',4		1	1'67
10'18	6	9.7.5'',5'		1	1'67
8'47	5	9.9.5'',4		5	8'33
6'78	4	9.9.5'',5'		2	3'33
5'08	3	9.0.5'',5'		2	3'33
1'69	1	9.x.5'',4		2	3'33
1'69	1	11.9.7.4		1	1'67
13'57	8	11.9.7.5'		14	23'33
1'69	1	11.x.7.5'		4	6'67
1'69	1	9.0.5'',4	11.0.7.5'	1	1'67
1'69	1	9.x.5'',5'			

TABLE 6b
MAIN LINE FORMULAE (FEMALES)

%	Abs. No. :	Lt. Hand	Rt. Hand	Abs. No. :	%
8'33	2	7.5'',5'',4		4	16.67
29'17	7	7.5'',5'',5'		9	37.50
12'50	3	9.7.5'',4		1	4.17
16'67	4	9.7.5'',5'		3	12.50
12.50	3	11.9.7.5'		3	12.50
4'17	1	7.5'',5'',.3	7.0.5'',5'	1	4.17
4'17	1	9.9.5'',5'	9.x.5'',5'	1	4.17
4'17	1	9.0.5'',5	11.0.9.5'	1	4.17
4'17	1	9.x.7.5'	11.9.7.4	1	4.17
4'17	1	11.x.7.5'			

TABLE 7a

FREQUENCY OF THE MAIN LINE FORMULAE

MALES

Formulae	Lt.	Rt.	Total
7.5.5	21	27	48
%	35.59	45.00	40.34
11.9.7	9	15	24
%	15.25	25.00	20.17
9.7.5	13	2	15
%	22.03	3.33	12.61
9.9.5	9	7	16
%	15.25	11.67	13.44
11.x.7	1	4	5
%	1.69	6.67	4.20
9.0.5	4	2	6
%	6.78	3.33	5.04
9.x.5	2	2	4
%	3.39	3.33	3.36
11.0.7	0	1	1
%	0	1.67	0.84

TABLE 7b

FEMALES

Formulae	Lt.	Rt.	Total
7.5.5	10	13	23
%	41.67	54.17	47.92
11.9.7	3	4	7
%	12.50	16.67	14.58
9.7.5	7	4	11
%	29.17	12.50	22.92
9.9.5	1	0	1
%	4.17	0	2.08
11.x.7	1	0	1
%	4.17	0	2.08
9.0.5	1	0	1
%	4.17	0	2.08
9.x.7	1	1	2
%	4.17	4.17	4.17
7.0.5	0	1	1
%	0	4.17	2.08
11.0.9	0	1	1
%	0	4.17	2.08

TABLE 8

ENDINGS OF LINE D

Endings	Male			Female		
	Lt.	Rt.	Total	Lt.	Rt.	Total
7	21	27	48	10	14	24
%	35.59	45.00	40.34	41.67	58.33	50.00
9	28	13	41	10	5	15
%	47.46	21.67	34.45	41.67	20.83	31.25
11	10	20	30	4	5	9
%	16.95	33.33	25.21	16.67	20.83	18.75

ENDINGS OF LINE C

Endings	Male			Female		
	Lt.	Rt.	Total	Lt.	Rt.	Total
5"	21	27	48	10	13	23
%	35.59	45.00	40.34	41.67	54.17	47.92
7	13	2	15	7	4	11
%	22.03	3.33	12.61	29.17	16.67	22.92
9	18	22	40	4	4	8
%	30.51	36.67	33.61	16.67	16.67	16.67
0	4	3	7	1	2	3
%	6.78	5.00	5.88	4.17	8.33	6.25
x	3	6	9	2	1	3
%	5.08	10.00	7.56	8.33	4.17	6.25

ENDINGS OF LINE B

Endings	Male			Female		
	Lt.	Rt.	Total	Lt.	Rt.	Total
5"	49	40	89	19	19	38
%	83.05	66.67	74.79	79.17	79.17	79.17
7	10	20	30	5	4	9
%	16.95	33.33	25.21	20.83	16.67	18.75
9	...	...	...	...	1	1
%	...	...	...	...	4.17	2.08

ENDINGS OF LINE A

Endings	Male		Female			
	Lt.	Rt.	Total	Lt.	Rt.	Total
4	20	22	42	5	6	11
%	33.90	36.67	35.29	20.83	25.00	22.92
5'	39	38	79	18	18	36
%	66.10	63.33	64.71	75.00	75.00	75.00
3	...	...	...	1	...	1
%	...	...	...	4.17	...	2.08

TABLE 9a

PATTERNS ON HYPOTHENAR AREA

MALES

Patterns	Lt.	Rt.	Total
0	36	38	74
%	61.02	63.33	62.18
Lr	15	10	25
%	25.42	16.67	21.01
M	3	3	6
%	5.08	5.00	5.05
W(S)	1	2	3
%	1.69	3.33	2.52
AU/Lr	0	1	1
%	0	1.67	0.84
LU	3	4	7
%	5.08	6.67	5.88
LU/Lr	1	2	3
%	1.69	3.33	2.52

TABLE 9b

Patterns	Lt.	Rt.	Total
Loop	19	16	35
%	32.20	26.67	29.41
Arch	0	1	1
%	0	1.67	0.84
Whor	1	2	3
%	1.69	3.33	2.52

TABLE 9c

FEMALES

Patterns	Lt.	Rt.	Total
0	18	16	34
%	75.00	66.67	70.83
Lr	3	3	6
%	12.50	12.50	12.50
M	1	2	3
%	4.17	8.33	6.25
W(S)	0	1	1
%	0	4.17	2.08
AU/Lr	8	0	0
%	0	0	0
LU	1	2	3
%	4.17	8.33	6.25
LU Lr	1	0	1
%	4.17	0	2.08

TABLE 9d

Patterns	Lt.	Rt.	Total
Whorl	...	1	1
%	...	4.17	2.08
Loop	5	5	10
%	20.83	20.83	20.83
Arch	...	...	...

TABLE 10a
THENAR/1ST INTERDIGITAL PATTERNS

Male			
Patterns	Lt.	Rt.	Total
0	45	44	89
%	76.27	73.33	74.79
Lr	5	6	11
%	8.47	10.00	9.24
Ar	6	7	13
%	10.17	11.67	10.92
M	2	3	5
%	3.39	5.00	4.20
LU	1	0	1
%	1.69	0	0.84

The frequencies of the patterns Loop and Arch extracted from the table above :

Patterns	Lt.	Rt.	Total
Loop	6	6	12
%	10.17	10.00	10.08
Arch	6	7	13
%	10.17	11.67	10.92

TABLE 10b
THENAR AND 1ST/INTERDIGITAL AREA PATTERNS

Females			
Patterns	Lt.	Rt.	Total
0	18	20	38
%	75.00	83.33	79.17
Lr	2	0	2
%	8.33	0	4.17
Ar	3	3	6
%	12.50	12.50	12.50
M	1	1	2
%	4.17	4.17	4.17

The frequencies of the patterns Loop and Arch extracted from the table above :

Patterns	Lt.	Rt.	Total
Loop	2	0	2
%	8.33	0	4.17
Arch	3	3	6
%	12.50	12.50	12.50

TABLE 11

PATTERNS ON THE II, III AND IV INTERDIGITAL AREAS

Patterns	Male			Female		
	Lt.	Rt.	Total	Lt.	Rt.	Total
0-0-0 =	29	20	49	9	6	15
%	49.15	33.33	41.18	37.50	25.00	31.25
0-0-L ₁ =	21	23	44	12	11	23
%	35.59	38.33	36.97	50.00	45.83	47.92
0-L-L ₁ =	7	7	14	1	3	4
%	11.86	11.67	11.76	4.17	12.50	8.33
0-L ₁ -0 =	2	8	10	2	4	6
%	3.39	13.33	8.40	8.33	16.67	12.50
L-L ₁ -L ₁ =	...	2	2	...	...	...

TABLE 12

	Male	Female
1. Hypothenar	32.77%	22.91%
2. Thenar/1st Interdigital	21.01%	16.67%
3. II Interdigital	1.68%	...
4. III Interdigital	21.84%	20.83%
5. IV Interdigital	50.42%	56.25%

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF AXIAL TRIRADII IN THE TWO SEXES

Axial Triradii	Male			Female		
	Lt.	Rt.	Total	Lt.	Rt.	Total
t	43	49	92	16	19	35
%	72.88	87.67	77.31	66.67	79.17	72.92
t'	12	8	20	6	4	10
%	20.34	13.33	16.80	25.00	16.67	20.83
t''	3	2	5	1	1	2
%	5.08	3.33	4.21	4.17	4.17	4.17
tt'	1	1	2	1	0	1
%	1.69	1.67	1.68	4.17	0	2.08

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A SHORT NOTE ON THE MENARCHEAL AGE OF ASSAMESE GIRLS

SIPRA RAKSHIT (GUHA)*

(Received on 2 December 1959)

THE purpose of the investigation, results of which are embodied here, was to ascertain the exact age at menarche of Assamese girls of different castes. Originally it was intended to collect large samples for each caste, but the project was circumstantially dropped before long.

However, the present note is based on 138 Assamese girls (Brahman 60, Kayastha 32, Muslim 29, Kalita 17) who could report their date of birth as well as date of menarche correctly. The investigation was carried out during the month of December 1954 at Jorhat through the help of school authorities of Jorhat Girls' High School as well as respective parents.

A few words are needed here regarding the reliability of the data. Only the previously recorded dates of birth either from horoscopes or family diary have been taken into consideration in view of the fact that the ages as returned from school registers are in most cases incorrect. Girls could report the exact date of menarche because the event was recent and could be recollected by the girls concerned or by their parents ; for at the same time there are some socio-ritual observances relating to the onset of menarche.

The distribution of the different groups according to menarcheal age are summarized in Table 1. All the groups show highest frequency at the 13th year of age resembling the Bengal data of Sen (1953).

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TABLE 1

Age next birthday	Brahman	Kayastha	Muslim	Kalita	Pooled
9	1	—	—	—	1
10	—	—	—	—	—
11	2	3	1	3	9
12	12	8	9	5	34
13	24	9	13	6	52
14	19	9	5	2	35
15	2	3	1	1	7
Total	60	32	29	17	138

Age class interval : for 10 yrs., all girls of age 9 yrs. upward up to 9 yrs. 11 mths.

Mean menarcheal ages for different groups are noted below (Table 2).

TABLE 2

Groups	Number	Age at Menarche		
		Years	Months	Days
Brahman	60	12	5	23
Kayastha	32	12	5	13
Muslim	29	12	4	1
Kalita	17	12	1	14
Pooled	138	12	4	24

Table 3 records the statistical constants on the basis of individual decimalized age (in years) entries.

(1 month = 30.415 days).

TABLE 3

Groups	Number	Mean	Standard deviation	Variance
Brahman	60	12.46	0.99	0.9833
Kayastha	32	12.45	1.16	1.3456
Muslim	29	13.35	0.79	0.6246
Kalita	17	12.12	1.07	1.1348
Pooled	138	12.39	1.01	1.0103

The mean ages at menarche for all the four groups lie within a range of 6 months in the 13th year of age.

The analysis of variance below does not indicate any statistically significant difference in the mean menarcheal ages for different groups.

TABLE 4

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Sources of variation	Degrees of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean square	Variance ratio
Between groups	3	1.7300	0.5767	0.5708
Within groups	134	135.3764	1.0103	
Total	137	137.1064		

$P[F > 0.5708] = 0.6$ approximately.

The analysis of variance test is done on the supposition that the extent of variation in the menarcheal age is not different for different groups. We can actually subject this assumption to a statistical test by applying Bartlett's M statistic. In this case the value of M comes out to be 3.8480, which is much below the 5% level of significance of χ^2 with 3 degrees of freedom. Hence the assumption about the equality of variance over the groups is tenable.

For comparison with other materials these Assam groups can, therefore, be pooled in the absence of any significant difference amongst them, with a pooled mean of 12.39 and variance 1.01.

It would have been interesting, at least for comparative purposes, to find out the mean menarcheal age for the Hindu castes excluding the Muslim group from the above analysis. But in the absence of any such study amongst the Hindu castes of any other state except in the case of Bengal (Sen 1953) this has not been attempted. Even Sen's data for the castes of Brahman, Vaidya and Kayastha cannot be pooled because of statistically significant difference in Vaidya and Kayastha variances (Fisher's Z statistic, to test the equality of two variances, is 0.02602, which far exceeds the 1% level of 0.00848).

Sen's data for Brahman and Kayastha can, however, be compared with the corresponding castes of Assam. Table 5 shows that the mean menarcheal age is higher in the Bengal castes but the evidence is not conclusive in view of the fact that the t statistic calculated to test the regional difference is just significant at the 5% level in the case of Brahmans and is near it in the case of Kayasthas.

TABLE 5

	Sample size (n)	Mean ($\bar{x}$)	S. D. (σ)	t	P
Brahmin	Bengal (B) 153	12.80	1.28		Just significant
	Assam (A) 60	12.46	0.99	2.1	at 5% level.
Kayastha	Bengal (B) 219	12.87	1.16		Near the 5%
	Assam (A) 32	12.45	1.16	1.9	level of significance.

$$t = \frac{(\bar{x}_B - \bar{x}_A)}{\sqrt{\frac{\sigma^2_B}{n_B} + \frac{\sigma^2_A}{n_A}}}$$

The writer is grateful to Dr. S. S. Sarkar for his encouragement and suggestions during the course of the investigation.

A SHORT NOTE ON THE ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE DORLAS AND THE DHURWAS OF BASTAR

HIRENDRA K. RAKSHIT*

(*Received on 16 November 1959*)

BASTAR, at present a district in M. P., being one of the ethnological enclaves of India makes it all the more interesting as an area for anthropological studies whether physical, social or linguistic. The various tribal populations together contribute almost 75% of the district population. The comparative isolation of these people for a number of centuries helped them till recently to grow into a regional type more or less unaffected by the inroads of modern civilization.

2. The major works of Glasfurd (1863), Grigson (1938), Majumdar (1939), and Elwin (1943, 1947) along with shorter reports and publications by different administrators and ethnologists give us an idea about the cultural setting of Bastar during the 19th and the present century.

3. Ethnologically the tribal population of Bastar may be divided into six major population segments in terms of territory and tradition as follows: (1) the Hill Maria, (2) the Bisonhorn (Dandami) Maria, (3) the Muria, (4) the Dorla, (5) the Dhurwa and (6) the Bhattra.

The Bison-horn (Dandami) Marias and the Murias are the most extensive as well as numerous of these six groups. There are reasons to suppose that the Hill Marias and the Dorlas are rather two cultural extensions of the more numerous and centrally situated (in the plateau) Dandami Marias. The Hill Marias are the result of isolation in inaccessible hilly tracts,

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while the Dorlas are the much acculturated extension in the plains. In numerical strength these two groups are the smallest of the six groups. The Dhurwas and the Bhattras are distinct from the above four 'Gond' tribes and they are also mutually distinct.

4. By no means can the above segmentation of Bastar tribes be taken too rigidly, at least for marginal areas. The affiliation of an individual to any particular ethnic section in the marginal areas is far from immutable. Down the Abujhmar Hills in the plateau where the Hill Marias are in contact with the Bison-horn Marias and Murias, the former group imperceptibly mingles with the latter two groups and in course of time becomes a part of the Bison-horn or the Muria population. The Murias of the marginal areas of Bhattra tract are in turn indistinguishable from the Bhattras.

In south Bastar, on the other hand, the Bison-horn Marias are being incorporated into the folds of the Dorla so far as south-western Bastar is concerned. But in the Sukma-Konta Tahsil, the people who were previously known as Marias (according to Glasfurd and Grigson) are at present occasionally introducing themselves as Muria, and these Murias in turn coalesce with the eastern Dorla. The only peoples who are perhaps not involved in this tribal mobility movement are the Dhurwas.

5. On the linguistic aspect there is the early work by the Linguistic Survey of India. The works of Mitchell (1942), of Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953) and also the notes (unpublished) of Bhattacharya on different tribes of Bastar help us to assess the linguistic situation.

6. From all these studies it appears that the languages of the Hill Maria, the Dandami (Bison-horn) Maria, the Muria and the Dorla are essentially similar and belong to the 'Gondi' tribal language group (Dravidian). The Dhurwas too speak a Dravidian language. But it does not belong to the 'Gondi' language group. The Parji is rather akin to some other rare and obscure languages, namely, Ollari, Poya and even Kolami

and Naiki (Barrow and Bhattacharya 1953). The Bhattras, however, stand distinctly apart from all other major tribal groups of Bastar, in having an Indo-Aryan speech more akin to Halbi (Bastari), Des of Koraput, etc., possibly forming a regional tribal Indo-Aryan speech group (Bhattacharya 1957).

7. Researches in physical anthropology in Bastar have been much less attended to than either cultural anthropology or linguistics. The researches on the ethnic groups of Bastar pertaining to physical anthropology are on anthropometry only.* Eickstedt (1929) has measured several Murias and also Hill Marias. R. C. Ray (1938) has measured 100 Hill Marias and 50 Bisonhorn Marias. Majumdar (1939) has measured persons from 8 castes and tribes of Bastar including Bhattra, Dhurwa (Parja), Muria, Bison-horn Maria and Hill Maria. Guha (1942) has measured 103 Murias.

8. Since 1957, the Central India Station of the Department of Anthropology has undertaken a comprehensive study of the major tribes of Bastar with the view to having a regional picture of the tract from the cultural, linguistic and physical anthropological points of view, the latter including anthropometric, population and serological work.

As a part of that programme, the author has taken anthropometric measurements on the Dorla and the Dhurwa of Bastar during 1958-59. Each sample consists of 100 individuals hailing from different villages of respective tribal tracts. A short analysis of these data is presented in this note.

9. For reasons indicated in paragraph 4, marginal areas have been excluded from the scope of the present study.

The total Dorla population in Bastar is about 15,000. Exact figures, however, are not available. The Dorla in Konta Tahsil number approximately 6,000, according to Konta Tahsil figures, 1953. These eastern members of the Dorla are scattered in some 50 villages. The anthropometric

* There is only one series of A, B, O Blood-group data on the Bison-horn Maria collected by Macfarlane (1940).

sample of 100 individuals was drawn from the eastern tract of the Dorla (Konta Tahsil) only. These persons come from ten villages as follows: Errabore 27 (this village consists of several widely separated hamlets), Phandigunda 16, Monikonta 13, Metagura 13, Asirgura 10, Vinjaram 10, Gorka 5, Erpagura 4, Jagavaram 1 and Mulakisouli 1. The first eight villages were visited by the author for taking anthropometric measurements.

10. The total Dhurwa population in Bastar is likely to be not less than 18,000, mostly in the plateau south of Jagdalpur town. Anthropometric measurements were taken on 100 individuals hailing from 19 different villages of the Dhurwa tract as follows: Kamanar 18, Chhindawara 13, Marenga 10, Litirash 10, Darba 7, Leda 7, Marjung 6, Takwara 6, Kakalgar 6, Topar 4, Chingur 3, Jamawara 2, Mongnar 2 and one each from Tongpal, Jemer, Nendra, Majhipal, Pedawara and Karka. The first nine villages and also Tongpal were visited by the author for taking anthropometric measurements.

11. Table 1 presents mean with s.d. for 19 linear and curvilinear anthropometric measurements in respect of the Dorla and the Dhurwa. The two groups closely resemble each other in all characters excepting stature, sitting height, nasal length, total facial length and head circumference. Compared to the Dorla, the Dhurwas have larger dimensions in all the five characters. But 't'-test of mean shows that the Dhurwas are significantly different from the Dorlas only in the latter four measurements and not in stature. The two groups are particularly different in the total facial length.

The value of 't' is also found to be at a significant level in the case of upper facial length.

The values of 't' and the corresponding probability level for these characters are shown in the Table 2.

TABLE 1

STATISTICAL CONSTANTS OF DIRECT MEASUREMENTS MEAN AND S. D.
DORLA AND DHURWA ADULT MALE SERIES

Serial No.	Character	Dorla N=100		Dhurwa N=100	
		Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.
1	Stature	1600.15	49.703	1612.87	54.716
2	Sitting Height	817.14	27.992	829.03	25.836
3	Head Length	181.09	5.977	182.07	6.599
4	Head Breadth	138.25	4.242	140.13	4.925
5	Auricular Height	113.55	5.166	113.02	5.117
6	Min-Frontal Breadth	99.21	4.092	100.72	3.808
7	Bizygomatic Breadth	130.39	4.860	132.04	4.275
8	Bigonial Breadth	96.53	5.458	97.40	5.446
9	Inter-Orbital Breadth	31.16	2.008	31.57	2.268
10	Orbitonasal Breadth	98.11	3.807	99.23	3.358
11	Orbitonasal Arc	107.52	4.586	108.96	3.927
12	Nasal Length	44.42	3.063	46.62	3.180
13	Nasal Breadth	39.17	2.514	39.70	2.606
14	Nasal Depth	19.22	2.382	19.24	2.182
15	Upper Facial Length	59.99	4.339	61.83	3.850
16	Total Facial Length	104.79	5.267	111.63	6.008
17	Horz. Head Circumference	516.64	13.519	526.30	12.921
18	Sagittal Arc	329.29	12.362	327.08	13.118
19	Transverse Arc	326.23	10.839	327.27	11.184

TABLE 2

't'-TEST OF MEAN

BETWEEN DORLA AND DHURWA SAMPLES

Serial No.	Character	't'	P Level	Remark
1	Stature	1.721	0.085	Not significant
2	Sitting height	3.122	0.002	Significant
3	Upper facial length	3.155	0.002	Significant
4	Nasal length	4.982	$<10^{-6}$	Highly significant
5	Head circumference	5.166	$<10^{-6}$	do.
6	Total facial length	8.561	$<10^{-10}$	do.

12. The mean values of 14 indices based on direct measurements are given in the Table 3. The Dorla and the Dhurwa samples are dissimilar in Nasal Index, Total Facial Index, and Vertico-Cephalo Facial Index, i. e. only in those indices where either the nasal length or the total facial length is involved.

TABLE 3
INDICES
MEAN VALUES
DORLA AND DHURWA ADULT MALE SERIES

Serial No.	Indices		Dorla N=100	Dhurwa N=100
1	Cephalic Index (L×B)	...	76.42	77.04
2	Length-Height Index (Head)	...	62.74	62.12
3	Breadth-Height Index (Head)	...	82.18	80.69
4	Nasal Index	...	88.53	85.57
5	Nasal Elevation Index	...	49.22	48.60
6	Orbito Nasal Index	...	109.61	109.83
7	Transverse Fronto-Parietal Index	...	71.79	71.92
8	Upper Facial Index	...	46.04	48.61
9	Total Facial Index	...	80.45	84.60
10	Transverse Cephalo-Facial Index	...	94.35	94.28
11	Vertico-Cephalo-Facial Index	...	92.43	98.91
12	Zygomatico-Frontal Index	...	76.14	76.31
13	Zygomatico-Mandibular Index	...	74.07	73.80
14	Stature-Sitting Ht. Index	...	51.07	51.41

13. As already pointed out, the statures of the two groups are not significantly different from each other so far as the mean values are concerned. The classification table (Table 4) also confirms the above finding. Both the groups are essentially Short to Below Medium in stature. The Dhurwa sample, however, shows higher frequency of Above Medium to Tall statured individuals.

TABLE 4
CLASSIFICATION TABLE
STATURE

Class	Range in mm.	Frequency	
		Dorla	Dhurwa
Very Short	1300-1499	4	1
Short	1500-1599	44	41
Below Medium	1600-1639	32	30
Medium	1640-1669	13	14
Above Medium	1670-1699	5	7
Tall	1700-1799	2	7

14. In cephalic index the Dorla and the Dhurwa samples are very similar even in classification frequencies (Table 5). Both the peoples are as much dolichocephalic as they are mesocephalic and the dolicho-mesocephalic classes include almost 90% of the sample in each case.

TABLE 5
CLASSIFICATION TABLE
CEPHALIC INDEX

Class	Range	Frequency	
		Dorla	Dhurwa
Hyperdolichocephal	below 70.9	3	3
Dolichocephal	71.0-75.9	42	41
Mesocephal	76.0-80.9	46	45
Brachycephal	81.0-85.4	8	9
Hyperbrachycephal	85.5-above	1	2

15. But in Nasal Index, the groups are well differentiated (Table 6). The nose of the Dhurwa is significantly narrow when compared to that of the Dorla, though both the groups are essentially characterized by having chamaerrhine to mesorrhine form of nose. However, the lower nasal index of the Dhurwa is due to their longer nasal length than narrower nasal breadth.

TABLE 6
CLASSIFICATION TABLE
NASAL INDEX

Class	Range	Frequency	
		Dorla	Dhurwa
Hyperleptorrhine	below-54.9	—	—
Leptorrhine	55.0-69.9	—	—
Mesorrhine	70.0-84.9	34	48
Chamaerrhine	85.0-99.9	59	51
Hyperchamaerrhine	100.0-above	7	1

16. So far as the total facial index is concerned, the difference between the Dorla and the Dhurwa samples is highly significant as far as the index mean values are concerned. The classification table (Table 7) also indicates the same fact. While the Dorlas are mostly euryprosops and hypereuryprosops, the Dhurwas are mostly euryprosops and mesoprosops and leptoprosops are not infrequent among the Dhurwas.

TABLE 7
CLASSIFICATION TABLE
FACIAL INDEX

Class	Range	Frequency	
		Dorla	Dhurwa
Hypereuryprosop	below-78.9	38	12
Euryprosop	79.0-83.9	41	36
Mesoprosop	84.0-87.9	16	27
Leptoprosop	88.0-92.9	3	19
Hyperleptoprosop	93.0-above	2	6

17. In all the direct measurements excepting head height and sagittal arc the Dhurwa sample shows larger mean values than those of the Dorla sample. But the differences are at significant level only in the case of sitting height, upper facial length, nasal length, head circumference and total facial length; and in the case of the last three measurements the differences are highly significant. Thus compared to the Dorlas, the

Dhurwas surely possess slightly longer lower trunk, appreciably longer nose and larger head and conspicuously longer face.

18. The Dorlas and the Dhurwas of Bastar along with their neighbouring tribes (Maria, Muria etc. measured by Ray, Majumdar and Guha) are largely characterized by dolicho- to meso-cephalic head, with short to below medium stature and predominantly chamaerrhine nose and share the australoid affinity with the larger tribal population of middle India.

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NOTE ON CASTE IN ANCIENT INDIA

SACHINDRA KUMAR MAITY*

Occupations of different castes were fixed at least from the Epic period. Thus, according to all the *Dharmasastras*¹ of the later period, the lawful occupations of the Brahman were (a) studying and teaching, (b) sacrificing for himself and others, (c) receiving alms, etc. Those of the Kshatriya were (a) studying but not teaching, (b) sacrificing for himself only, (c) giving but not receiving alms, (d) governing and fighting. Those of the Vaishya were (a) studying, (b) sacrificing for himself, (c) giving alms, (d) cultivating, (e) cattle-breeding, (f) trading and lending money at interest. The Shudra was to obtain his livelihood (a) by serving the higher castes and, if necessary, by free manual labour. But gradually the occupational difference between the Vaishya and Shudra became reduced.² Manu also recommends that 'among the several occupations the most commendable are teaching the Vedas for a Brahman, protecting the people for a Kshatriya, and trade for a Vaishya'.³ Thus, Pushyagupta who was a Vaishya by caste was the provincial governor of the Maurya King Chandragupta.⁴

Communities like the Chandala, Nishada and others used to maintain themselves by means of numerous 'degraded' professions. Generally they lived outside towns or villages and not only their touch, but even their sight was considered defiling by high-caste people.⁵ But in times of distress, each caste might follow the occupation of that next to it below in rank.⁶

Buddha denounced the Brahmanical caste system and declared the equality of all men irrespective of caste, creed and community.⁷ The superiority of the Brahmanas was never

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recognized in Buddhist and Jaina literature. These sects, on the other hand, accepted the supremacy of the Kshatriya in ancient society. Kshatriyas were considered to be 'the lord of the earth'.⁸

Marriage among different castes was in vogue in ancient Indian society. But the custom of inter-caste and the inter-racial marriages was not at all popular, and that was why the rulers of ancient India took great pains to stop the contamination of the four Varnas⁹ (castes) through inter-marriage. It was considered as a social and religious duty of the state to maintain the traditional caste system.

It is also interesting to note that in ancient India foreigners were helped in becoming part of Indian society. Thus Greeks, Parthians, Sakas, Kushanas and Hunas soon became absorbed in their new surroundings. In course of time, matrimonial relationship was established among these foreign peoples and Indians.¹⁰ Such relationships resulted in the birth of a new civilization which was more Indian than foreign in character. A good number of epigraphs record the progressive assimilation of foreigners (Yavanas) who learnt Indian languages and adopted local religion, manners and customs. In this context, we can refer to the infiltration of the Western Satraps into the Indian soil. Indian impact was such that even they changed their customary foreign names. The names of early kings were very much un-Indian, such as, Nahapana, Bhumika, Ushavadata, Chastana, Jayadaman, Rudradaman, Damoghsada, Jivadaman, etc. But their successors took Indian names, like Rudrasinha, Rudrasena, Vijaysena, etc.

After discarding their original language, they employed Sanskrit in its Prakrit form for royal edicts.¹¹ Most of them became devotees of Hindu gods and goddesses, and some of them became the worshippers of the Buddha. In course of time, they became completely hinduized and such remarkable changes made them ultimately anti-Yavana in their political and social relations. The great Saka king Rudradaman I was proud of destroying the Yavanas and thus maintained the prestige 'of heroes among all Kshatriyas'.¹² Although they

were Yavanas in origin, from their new home they were proud of considering themselves as true Kshatriyas. The new impact was such that sometimes they went so far as to consider themselves as 'The unique Brahmana, in prowess equal to Rama, Kesava, Arjuna and Bhimasena, liberal on festive days in unceasing festivities and assemblies, not inferior in lustre to Nabhaga, Nahusha, Janmejaya, Sagara, Yayati, Rama and Ambarisha'.¹³

As the Saka-Kshatrapa kings were converted Hindus claiming themselves to be 'true Kshatriyas' and 'destroyers of Yavanas', they intentionally gave the highest importance to Brahmanas in society.¹⁴ Thus, they tried their best to maintain the Brahmanical order in the western part of India ; and it can be taken as a sort of Hindu revival under the Saka-Kshatrapas of western India.

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PALAEOLITHS FROM MONGHYR DISTRICT, BIHAR*

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

PABITRA GUPTA

ARABINDA BOSE

(Received on 10 August 1959)

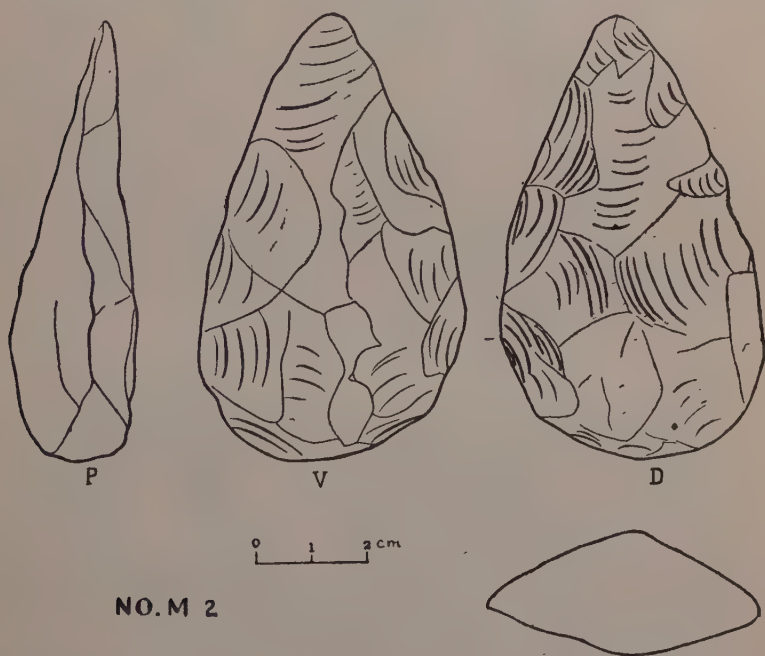
BHIMBANDH is a small village in Monghyr District situated at Lat. $25^{\circ} 3' 50''$ N. and Long. $86^{\circ} 23' 55''$ E. It appears on the Survey of India Map 72 K/8, and is 52 miles by road from Bhagalpur town. One has to drive nearly 45 miles towards the town of Monghyr and take off at a point to the right, from where Bhimbandh is about 7 miles distant.

Nearly fourteen years ago, Shri Rathindra Nath Tagore of Santiniketan and Shri Surendra Nath Kar, Principal of the Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan, discovered a very well-made handaxe about one mile north-east of the village. This specimen is numbered M 2 in the series below. Bihar has not yielded many palaeoliths; much of the State being indeed covered by fresh alluvium. A few palaeoliths were, however, recovered recently from Singhbhum (1958-59) and from Manbhum District, in the Police Station of Chandil, by parties from the Calcutta University who worked there about five years ago. These palaeoliths were stray finds and yet remain to be described. Shri Tagore and Kar's find opened up the possibility of another site lying in the Kharagpur Hills in Monghyr, and the first writer spent three days there in June, 1959, in order to explore local possibilities. The stay at Bhimbandh Forest Bungalow extended from 11th to the 13th of June, 1959.

There are two hot springs at Bhimbandh, one of which is of fairly large volume. There is a small hill, 830 ft. high,

*Thanks are due to the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, for permission to print the result of work done under its auspices by three of its officers.

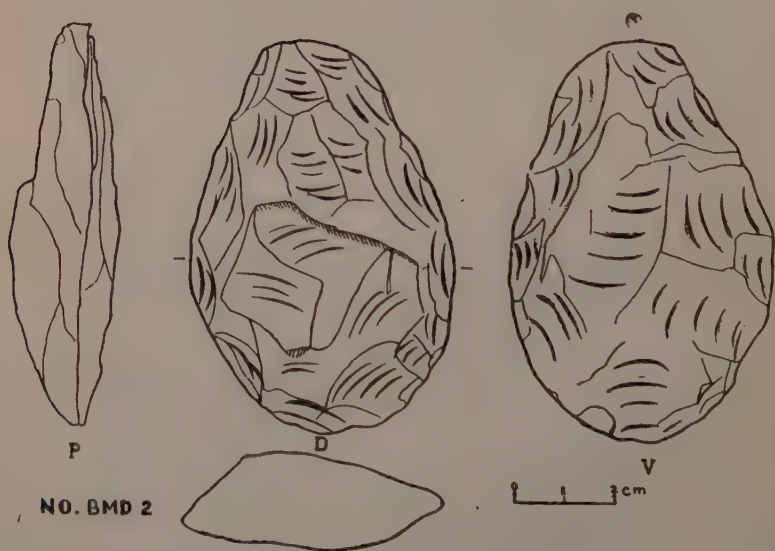
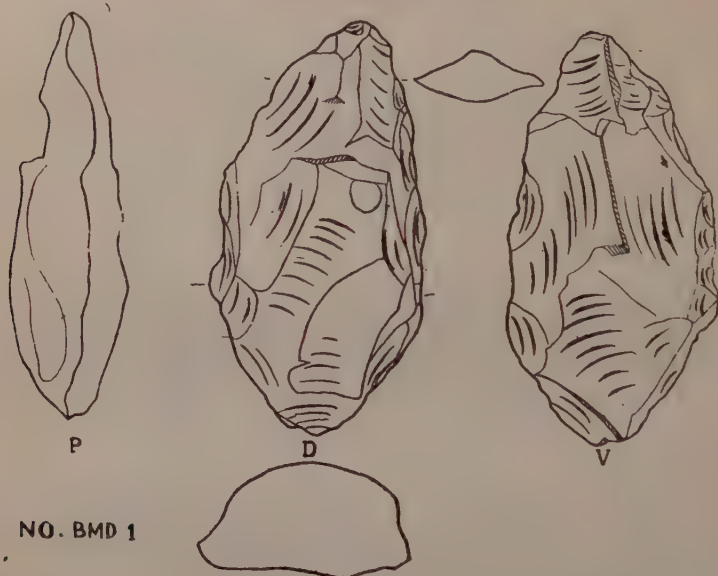
about a mile to the north-east of the southern hot spring. On the eastern side of this hill is a flattish patch of ground by the side of a stream. The first palaeolith, M 2, was discovered on this flat ground by Tagore and Kar as it lay exposed on the surface. Search was made in the neighbourhood with some care for two or three days and altogether six palaeoliths were discovered either from the surface of the ground or from the bed of the stream. As a matter of fact, only one specimen was discovered in the bed of the stream itself, the others being



from either the sloping bank or from the ground above. It is likely that with greater care more tools will be found and a fruitful site yielding tools in situ will be discovered in future.

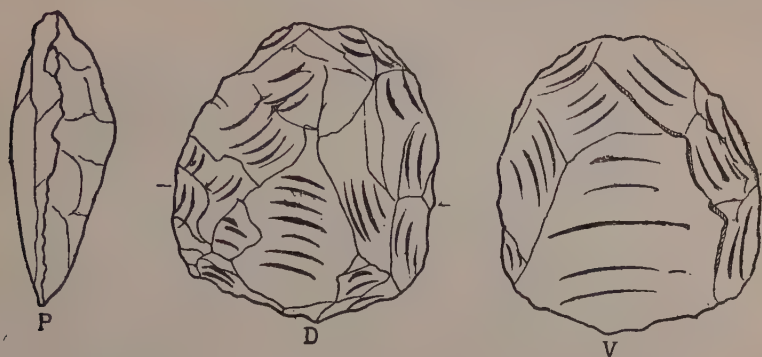
A description of the tools has been given below along with their drawing by means of camera lucida. A few doubtful specimens were also found, but as human workmanship was not beyond doubt, they were rejected. The number of such rejects would be approximately 3 or 4. It will be observed from an examination of the tools that a few of them

are of finished workmanship. Typologically, one would be inclined to place two of them within the Acheulian series. It

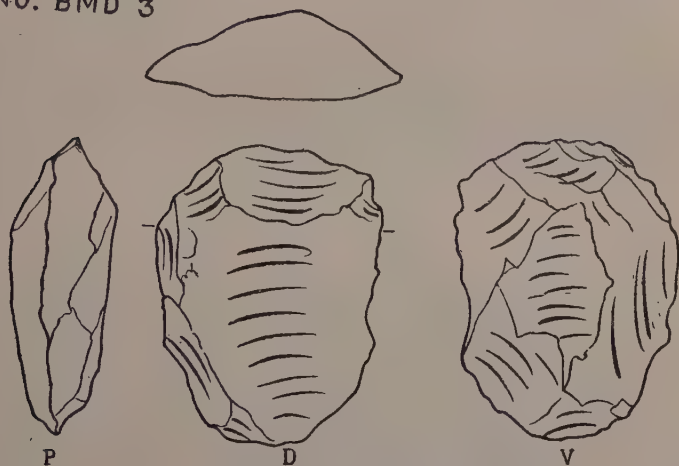


would not be right to suggest any age on the basis of typology alone. It would, however, be proper to suggest that

some of these tools show striking resemblance to tools of advanced technique recovered in Mayurbhanj by the University of Calcutta which have already been described by Bose and



NO. BMD 3

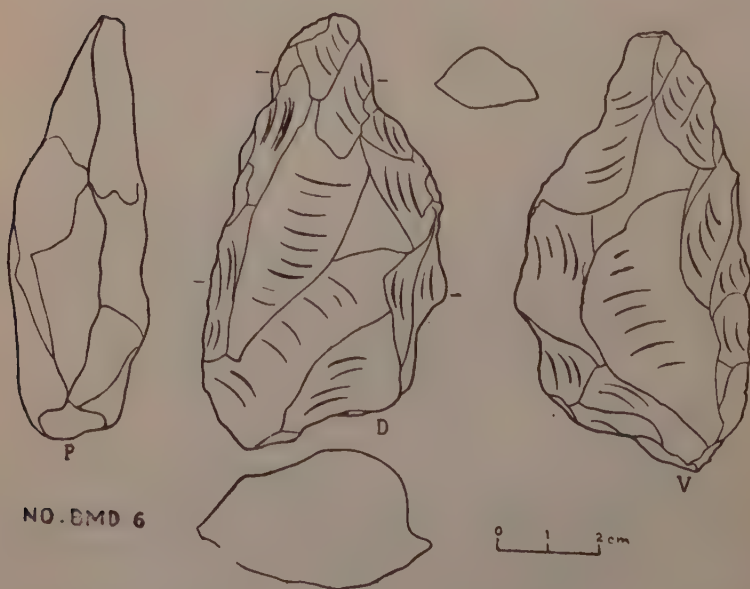
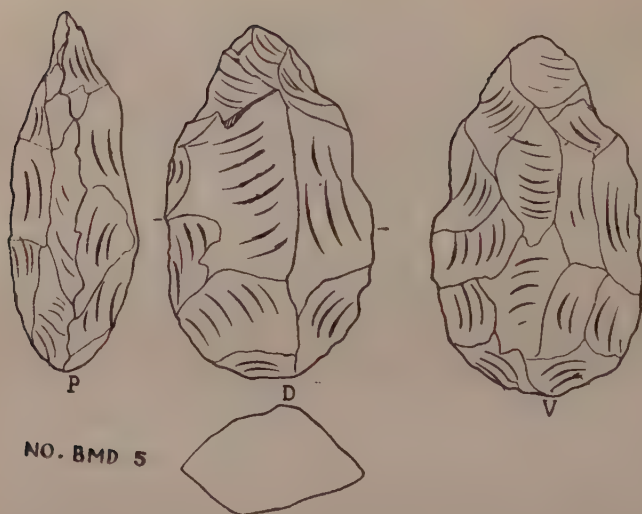


NO. BMD 4

0 1 2 cm

Sen.* This is all that need be said at present. Work in future may prove the richness or otherwise of the site and it may also yield evidence which will help in accurate dating on the basis of geology.

* Bose, Nirmal Kumar & Dharani Sen: *Excavations in Mayurbhanj*, University of Calcutta, 1948.



TOOL NO. : M/2*

<i>Measurement :</i>	Max. Length = 16.20 cm.
	„ Breadth = 9.60 cm.
	„ Thickness = 4.50 cm.
	Weight = 1 lb. 5 oz.
<i>Rock :</i>	Quartzite, dark brown.
<i>State of preservation :</i>	Slightly rolled.
<i>Primary flaking :</i>	Leaving aside the butt end, the dorsal surface is worked all over with shallow primary flake scars meeting at a centrally elevated, ill-defined ridge. Throughout the ventral surface, there are shallow flake scars. The tool is symmetrical and regular. Two sharp lateral margins converge to form a thin pointed working end.
<i>Secondary trimmings :</i>	Present at the lateral margin of both the surfaces, some of which are stepped. The tool is neatly finished, The heavy U-shaped butt retains the original pebbly cortex.
<i>Line of profile :</i>	Not continuous posteriorly. Laterally, they are more or less straight with slight sinuosity.
<i>Cross-section :</i>	Triangular at the middle, elliptical anteriorly.
<i>Type :</i>	Amygdaloidal biface.

TOOL NO. BMD 1

<i>Measurement :</i>	Max. Length = 16.40 cm.
	„ Breadth = 8.25 cm.
	„ Thickness = 4.30 cm.
	Weight = 1 lb. 5 oz.
<i>Rock :</i>	Quartzite, stained brown.
<i>State of preservation :</i>	Trimmed to peariform shape. Large, shallow flake surfaces on the ventral side. A portion of the dorsal surface from about middle to the butt-end is apparently unworked.
<i>Secondary flaking :</i>	Some stepped fractures appear near the margins.
<i>Line of profile :</i>	Irregularly sinuous, and not continuous with butt line.
<i>Margins :</i>	Converge to form a pointed working end.
<i>Cross section :</i>	Plano-convex in the middle.
<i>Type :</i>	Peariform biface.

* Published through the courtesy of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

TOOL NO. BMD 2

<i>Measurement :</i>	Max. Length = 15.60 cm.
	„ Breadth = 10.40 cm.
	„ Thickness = 4.00 cm.
	Weight = 1 lb. 6 oz.
<i>Rock :</i>	Fine grained, grey quartzite.
<i>State of preservation :</i>	Slightly worn, with reddish lateritic stain. Anterior tip is broken.
<i>Primary flaking :</i>	Dorsal surface worked all over, with small primary flake-scars spread from centrally elevated portion to margins. Large irregular flake-scars cover the ventral surface, which is more flattish than the dorsal. The tool is more or less symmetrical and regular. Sharp edges converge to form a working end which is truncated.
<i>Secondary flaking :</i>	Present at the margin of the dorsal surface. The tool is neatly finished.
<i>Line of profile :</i>	More or less straight, and continuous with the line of butt. The butt is thin, sharp and semicircular.
<i>Cross-section :</i>	Roughly bi-convex in the middle.
<i>Type :</i>	Longish ovate on core.

TOOL NO. BMD 3

<i>Measurement :</i>	Max. Length = 10.8 cm.
	„ Breadth = 9.80 cm.
	„ Thickness = 3.90 cm.
	Weight = 13 oz.
<i>Rock :</i>	Quartzite, greyish.
<i>State of preservation :</i>	Slightly weathered, has lateritic stain.
<i>Flaking :</i>	Trimmed to discoid form. There is a prominence on the dorsal surface, a little below the centre. Most of the marginal flake-scars on this face are of secondary origin. There are a few stepped flakings at the left-margin of the dorsal face. The ventral surface is formed by a few broad primary flake-surfaces. Anterior is broad, where secondary flakings intersect with the primary flake surface on the ventral side.
<i>Cross-section :</i>	Roughly plano-convex.
<i>Type :</i>	Discoid tool.

TOOL NO. BMD 4

<i>Measurement :</i>	Max. Length = 10.60 cm.
	„ Breadth = 8.30 cm.
	„ Thickness = 3.80 cm.
	Weight = 12 oz.
<i>Rock :</i>	Quartzite, stained reddish,

State of preservation :

Flaking : Dorsal surface is mainly formed by pebbly cortex. Anteriorly a large flake has been detached to produce a broad convex cutting edge. On the ventral surface, there are broad, flattish scars, and evidence of a few stepped flakings at one of the margins. Secondary trimmings are present at the transverse working edge. One lateral margin has a loose sinuosity, while the other one, formed by the intersection of the cortical surface and two broad flake surfaces, is more or less straight,

Type : Ovate.

TOOL NO. BMD 5

Measurement : Max. Length = 14.10 cm.
 „ Breadth = 8.35 cm.
 „ Thickness = 5.05 cm.
 Weight = 1 lb, 2 oz.

Rock : Quartzite, brown.

State of preservation : Weathered and stained red specially on the dorsal surface.

Flaking : Ventral surface covered by short, wide primary flake scars. Dorsal surface has large flake scars. Secondary flaking is not very clear.

Line of profile : With low sinuosity. They converge to form a pointed working end. Pointed end thin. Thick at the middle and at the butt. Line of profile is continuous with line of butt. Butt is semicircular.

Type : Amygdaloidal biface on core,

TOOL NO. BMD 6

Measurement : Max. Length = 17.40 cm.
 „ Breadth = 9.30 cm.
 „ Thickness = 5.40 cm.
 Weight = 1 lb, 13 oz.

Rock : Quartzite. Stained brown.

State of preservation : Not rolled, no sign of weathering.

Flaking : Long primary flake scars on the dorsal surface excepting the pebbly cortex which is towards the butt. Worked all over on the ventral surface. Few or no secondary retouches. Working end produced by convergence of the two lateral margins.

Line of profile : Sinuous, irregular

Cross-section : Bi-convex.

Type : Crude Handaxe.

BOOK REVIEWS

Government and Politics in Tribal Societies. By I. Schapera. Pp. vi + 238. Watts. London, 1956. 21 shillings.

This is a comparative study of the political structure of a group of South African tribes by a scholar who has wide and first-hand acquaintance with the ethnography of the region. The author has confined himself to a limited area, for like Radcliffe-Brown, he believes that comparisons should first be made between contiguous groups, and then between larger and more distant areas. The author takes care to observe that the generalizations which emerge apply strictly only to the tribes that have been studied. This, of course, does not imply that the study is not of importance for gaining a general insight into the nature of political organization.

The tribes studied in the book have been divided into four groups, namely, the Bushmen, Bergdama, Hottentots and Southern Bantu. The Southern Bantu again comprise four major divisions each having a number of tribes. The four groups of tribes may be arranged on a scale in terms of complexity of material technique and social organization. The Bushmen and Bergdama are hunters and gatherers, and have a social organization of the smallest scale. The Hottentots pursue a pastoral mode of life, and have a somewhat higher level of integration. It is only among the shifting cultivating Bantus that we meet with the presence of a structure recalling the modern state.

The author defines the political community as 'a group of people organized into a single unit managing its affairs independently of external control' (p. 8). The criterion of independence is to be taken as crucial in this definition. Thus defined, the political community serves as the unit of comparison throughout the analysis. Among Bushmen and Bergdama the political community is the exogamous band, and *not* the more inclusive unit usually referred to as a tribe. The Hottentot political community comprises several bands, and among Bantu the corresponding unit often includes several tribes, some of which might be speaking different dialects.

The author brushes aside the argument that the units with which he is dealing may not strictly be considered comparable. Also he

does not find any difficulty in demarcating the boundaries of the different political communities. This, as he himself remarks, is in contrast with the experiences of Fortes and Wagner with respect to the Tallensi on the one hand, and the Logoli and the Vugusu on the other. Among the latter, it has to be recalled, the largest units subject to organized leadership were clans and sub-clans. But the criterion of autonomy in terms of organized leadership was not considered sufficiently important to lead the authors to consider these as separate political communities. For, they rightly felt that the facts of exogamy and complementary ceremonial roles made it highly unreal to treat single clans, or sub-clans as autonomous political communities. One wonders if the same arguments may not apply in the case of the Bushmen and Bergdama bands. The band here is an exogamous unit, and therefore has to enter into persistent relations with other bands. We are not told to what extent other activities are carried out on an inter-band level. But, in any case, since exogamy makes it necessary for different bands to have close interrelations, there must exist some mechanisms for the regulation of such relations. The author, however, is silent about the nature of such mechanisms.

There are separate chapters dealing with the activities of tribal governments, the privileges and powers of office, and the relation between rulers and subjects. Comparative accounts are given of the duties and responsibilities of chiefs and other functionaries in the four groups of tribes. It is shown how the functions of a chief are commensurate with the scale of the political community, and how greater responsibility is correlated with greater concentration of power. The sanctions for the chief's power, as well as against the abuse of such power, are explained by means of several illustrations. The concluding chapter makes a graded comparison of the different forms of government, arranging them in terms of scale, complexity of functions, concentration of power, etc., and showing the interrelationship of factors.

The book brings up once again the problem of having a satisfactory definition of political organization. The author criticizes Radcliffe-Brown's definition that, 'The political organization of a society is that aspect of the total organization which is concerned with the control and regulation of the use of physical force', and suggests that we should base our definition on *function*, rather than

on *means*. Accordingly, political organization is 'that aspect of the total organization which is concerned with the establishment and maintenance of internal cooperation and external independence' (p. 218). However, this definition is equally, if not more, elusive. For almost every social institution is at least in some way concerned with the 'maintenance of internal cooperation'.

As a descriptive study the book is both clear and factual. On the other hand, it fails to attain even moderately high analytical level. The descriptions are mechanical, and much of Eisenstadt's recent criticism against studies of primitive political systems, that they concentrate on the description of political roles rather than on the analysis of political functions, applies with special force in this instance. Nevertheless, for beginners and laymen it will serve as a good introduction to the subject of political anthropology.

Andre' Be'teille

Naven : A Survey of the Problems suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe Drawn from Three Points of View. By Gregory Bateson. Second Edition, 1958. Pp. xx. IV + 312, with Plates and Diagrams. Stanford University Press, Stanford. California. \$ 6.00.

'The book is clumsy and awkward, in parts almost unreadable' (p. 281). This is the verdict pronounced by the author himself more than twenty years after the book was first published. And this is perhaps the principal reason why it failed to draw very much attention, although it contains much that can measure up to the best that has appeared in British social anthropology during the last few decades.

The ethnographic data on which the analysis is based relate to the Iatmul people who live in large villages on the Sepik river in New Guinea. The book is very explicitly *not* an ethnographic description, and the author concerns himself with only one particular set of ceremonies. 'The ceremonies are called *naven* and are performed in celebration of the acts and achievements of the *laua* (sister's child)' (p. 6). The analysis of *naven* leads, however, to a discussion of the major premises of Iatmul culture which provide the general background for the ceremonies. The author's main problem is with the presentation of his data, and much theoretical sophistication is evinced in the manner in which this is done.

Naven may be performed on a variety of occasions, and several categories of relatives take part, although it is the mother's brother—sister's son relationship which the ceremonies highlight. 'The outstanding feature of the ceremonies is the dressing of men in women's clothes and of women in the clothes of men' (p. 12). The *wau*, or mother's brother, dressed in the filthiest of widow's weeds 'shames' himself before his *laua*, who tries to run away from the scene of humiliation and finally presents him with shell valuables. The boy's sister and his father's sister wear splendid male attire and display aggressive behaviour. The ceremonies include pantomimic representations of the sexual act in which the *wau* plays the part of a female.

The author gives a bare description of the ceremonies in the first few pages, and then proceeds to analyse their relation to Iatmul society and culture. Before doing this he defines the theoretical categories in terms of which the analysis is to be carried out. These are : (i) structural and eidological relationships which deal with the cognitive aspects of cultural behaviour ; (ii) affective and ethological relationships which deal with the emotional aspects of cultural behaviour, and (iii) sociological relationships, which analyse the contributions of particular sets of behaviour towards the maintenance and continued existence of the social system. The author freely acknowledges his debts to Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski on the one hand, and to Ruth Benedict on the other, for having provided the basis upon which his own concepts have been built. There are, however, certain major differences between the terms as he uses them and as they have been used by the authors cited above. For instance, structure refers not to social structure in Radcliffe-Brown's sense but to cultural structure, something which the author closely identifies with tradition (see p. 24). Needless to say, this causes a certain confusion in the mind of the reader.

The behaviour of *naven* is first explained in terms of cultural structure. This explanation consists in demonstrating certain identifications between different categories of kin. The mother's brother is identified with the mother, the sister's son is identified with his father (namely, the sister's husband), and so on. In a much later chapter is set forth the *eidos* of Iatmul culture. This is characterized by a 'multiplicity of premises', which, in other words, means that Iatmul culture has a complexity and richness of

detail which makes it distinctive. The specific features of *naven* are seen again in terms of the *eidos* of Iatmul culture. This, of course, involves a certain amount of circularity, but of this the author appears to be well aware (see p. 116).

In dealing with the emotional aspects of the ceremony the author describes first the *ethos* of Iatmul culture, or its predominant emotional emphases. The *ethos* for man and woman is shown to be different, and the process of schismogenesis, or the widening of this difference is analyzed. The consistency of *naven* rites with the *ethos* of Iatmul culture is demonstrated in detail.

'The sociology of *naven*' is briefly discussed in a chapter of twenty pages. Here the author explains the social function of *naven*, the way in which, by affirming cognitive ties, it helps to maintain solidarity in a community where cleavages in terms of clanship are sharp, and tend perpetually to be widened. This chapter shows some brilliant insight into the functioning of segmentary systems, and gives us a foretaste of the work to be later carried out by Evans-Pritchard, Fortes and Gluckman.

To the author the writing of the book has been an experiment, an experiment in the interpretation of data. He constructs three frames of reference, the ethological, the eidological, and the sociological, for the purpose of this interpretation. Of these, the first two constitute two aspects—the affective and the cognitive—of the same phenomenon, namely, the configuration of Iatmul culture. The *ethos* of Iatmul culture has been depicted clearly and vividly, although such a depiction, as the author himself concedes, cannot be anything but impressionistic. The description of Iatmul *eidos* does not appear equally convincing, and proportionately less attention has been devoted to it.

The book is a unique attempt at an analysis of the same set of concrete data from the viewpoints of society, culture, and personality. The same item of behaviour has been explained in terms of sociology, *eidos* and *ethos*. The different frames of reference must not be considered as anything but theoretical constructs; the author warns us against the fallacy of misplaced concreteness. Unfortunately, he made his experiment at a time when hardly any attempt had been made to chalk out the different frames of reference. Therefore, we should not blame him if occasionally he himself commits the fallacy against which he warns us.

Andre' Be'teille